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AUTHOR:

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ANTHONY

TITLE:

THE FRAGMENTS OF
ATHENIAN COMIC ...

PLACE:

LEIDEN

DATE:

1923

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Dittmer, William Anthony,
The fragments of Athenian comic didascaliae found in Rome (IG XIV 1097, 1098, 1098a): a dissertation... by William Anthony Dittmer.
Leiden, Brill, 1923.
[6], 54 p. 3 plates. 23 cm.

Thesis, Princeton.

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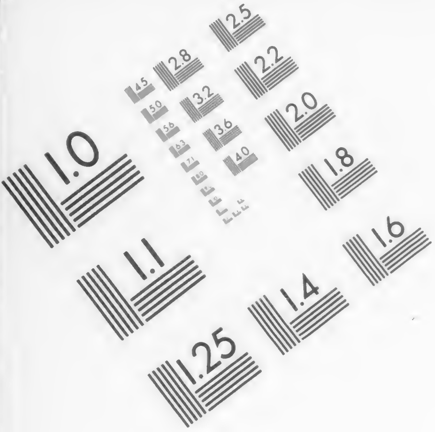
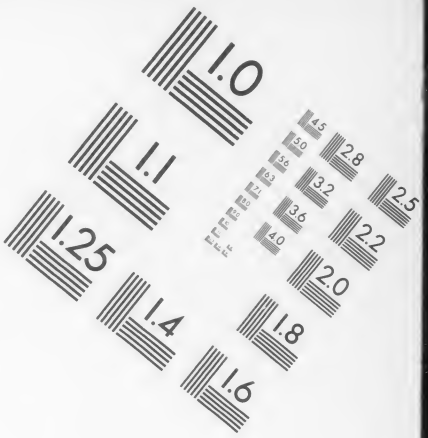
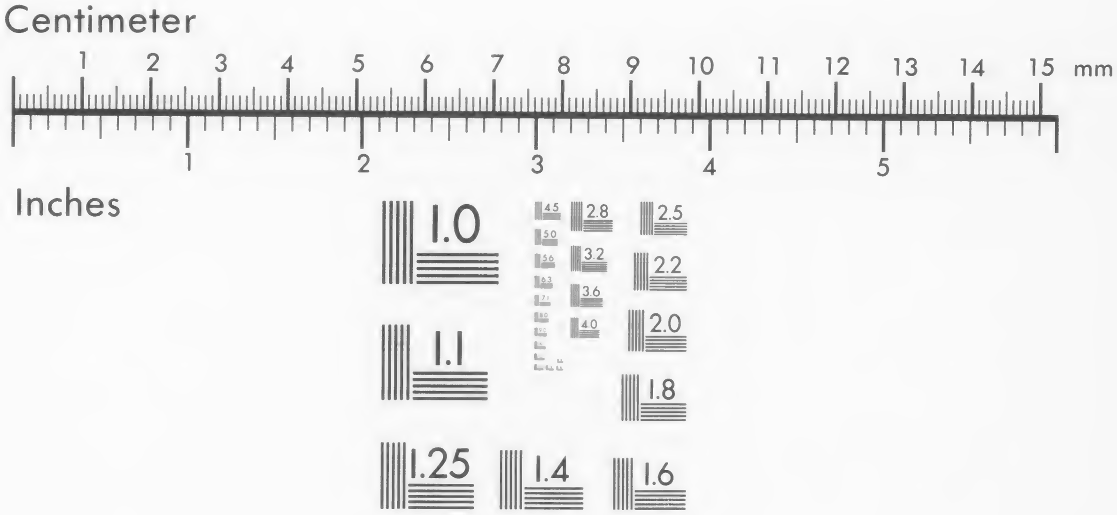

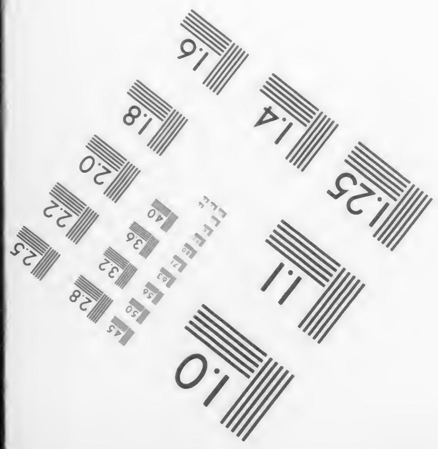
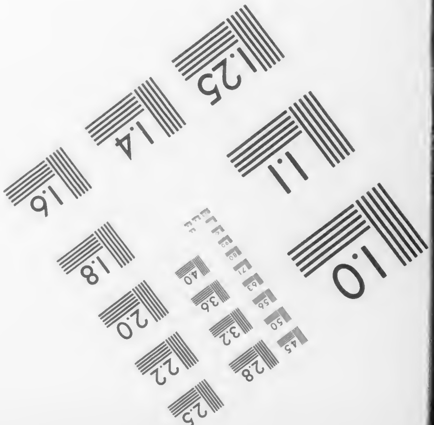

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THE FRAGMENTS
OF
ATHENIAN COMIC DIDASCALIAE
FOUND IN ROME

(IG XIV 1097, 1098, 1098*a*)

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE

FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

WILLIAM ANTHONY DITTMER

LATE E. J. BRILL
PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS
LEIDEN — 1923

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Published July, 1923.
Accepted by the Department of Classics
June, 1916.

887.17
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PREFACE.

I take pleasure in acknowledging here my great indebtedness to Prof. Edward Capps, under whose direction this thesis was written, for his ever friendly assistance and advice. Special thanks are also due Prof. Duane R. Stuart who read the MS and made many helpful suggestions. In general, I wish to express my appreciation of the unselfish labors of all of my instructors, particularly in Washington University, St. Louis, and in Princeton University.

Wm. A. Dittmer.

New York,
June 6, 1923.

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THE FRAGMENTS OF ATHENIAN COMIC DIDASCALIAE FOUND IN ROME.

(IG XIV 1097, 1098, 1098*a*)

INTRODUCTION.

The oldest and most authentic information we have on the dramatic contests held in Athens at the City Dionysia and the Lenaea of each year is furnished by the inscriptions that have been brought to light in the course of time.[1]

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[1] All this material has been collected and commented on by A. Wilhelm in his monumental work, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen* (= *Sonderschriften des österr. archäologischen Institutes.* Band VI), Wien, 1906. Of the inscriptions there treated those which are referred to in this paper fall into three main classes:

A. The *Fasti*, IG II 971 (Wilh. *Urk.*, pp. 6 ff.), a record, year by year, of the names of those who were victorious in the various contests held each year at the City Dionysia.

B. The *Didascaliae*, IG II 972—975 (Wilh. *Urk.*, pp. 34 ff.), four separate lists, one each for tragedy and for comedy at the City Dionysia and at the Lenaea. Each of these lists recorded year by year under the archon's name in the order of rank accorded by the judges the name of each competing poet along with the title of his play and the name of the actor, and, at the end, the name of the victorious actor. In the later period, when an "old play" was brought out, this was recorded immediately after the archon's name.

C. The *Victors' Lists*, IG II 977 (Wilh. *Urk.*, pp. 89 ff.), eight separate lists, one each for tragic and comic poets and for tragic and comic actors at the City Dionysia and at the Lenaea. Each list recorded simply the names of the victors, with the total number of their victories, arranged in chronological order according to the date of their first success.

Because of the immense importance of these didascalic inscriptions for one of the principal phases of Greek literary history they have been studied by scholars with much care. Unfortunately these inscriptions are in most cases quite fragmentary, and their restoration and interpretation is not always an easy matter. In spite of this difficulty, however, most of this epigraphical material has been satisfactorily interpreted, so that there is now a general agreement among scholars on most points.

There are, however, three important fragments of a didascalic inscription (IG XIV 1097, 1098, 1098*a*), called the Roman Fragments on account of their provenience, regarding the restoration and interpretation of which there are marked differences of opinion among scholars. In the belief that the nature of the document to which these fragments belonged is now essentially understood, thanks to the labors of a succession of scholars, and that, by pressing a stage farther the inquiry into the physical characteristics of the inscription, a truer understanding of the document may still be gained, I have undertaken to study it anew. If I have succeeded in discovering the physical solution of the problem, our knowledge of Attic comedy will be increased and rectified in a number of important particulars. It is my purpose, therefore, in this paper to deal with the fragments mentioned above and with the questions of literary history centering about them.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

Of the three inscriptions under consideration, No. 1098 was discovered first, in 1762, and was published three years later by Odericus in his *Dissertationes* (Rome 1765), p. 360. The stone has since disappeared. No. 1097 was found in 1777 and published soon after by Ordericus in his *De marmorea didascalia in urbe reperta* (Rome 1777). It is now

preserved in the Villa Albani in Rome.[2] Though the stones were badly broken, Odericus saw that the two fragments belonged to an inscription which had recorded certain Athenion didascaliae. Because of the extreme importance, but comparative scantiness at that time, of epigraphical material in the field of the history of the drama and the dramatic contests at Athens, as also on account of the fragmentary condition of the inscription, which seemed to challenge restoration and interpretation, the fragments engaged the attention of such eminent scholars as Boeckh, Meineke, Usener, Bergk, Madvig, and others. In spite of the work of these scholars, however, not much progress was made in more than a hundred years. The first considerable advance toward an adequate restoration and interpretation of the fragments was made by Petersen in an article in *Wiener Studien* VII (1885), pp. 181 ff. The opinion of scholars before that time had been that the inscription of which these fragments were a part had recorded only the victories of the poets listed. Petersen was the first to see the true significance of the numerals $\overline{\Gamma}$ (1098, l. 3), $\overline{\Delta}$ (1097, l. 2), $\overline{\mathrm{E}}$ (1097, l. 6), on which the interpretation of the inscription depended to a large extent, viz. that they indicated the rank (*τρίτος*, *τέταρτος*, *πέμπτος*) accorded to the plays of a poet in the dramatic contests. Hence he argued that the inscription had recorded not only a list of victories (*ἐνίκα* 1097, l. 7, and 1098, l. 15) but a complete list of each poet's plays, grouped according to the rank won by the several plays, the arrangement under each rank-class being chronological. He also recognized the fact that the poets are listed in the inscription in the order of the dates of their first appearance at either of the two festivals. He then attempted a restoration of the fragments by filling out each line to a length of about 28—32 letters, i. e. about enough to make one complete item (archon's name plus title of a play) per line. He treated the whole problem only from an epigraphical standpoint and drew from his restoration no conclusions with respect to literary history.

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[2] Due to the unusual conditions prevailing in Italy it was not possible to get a photograph of the stone; however, thanks to the kindness of professors Carter and Van Buren of the American Academy at Rome, access was gained to the Villa Albani, and Mr. R. W. Scott, a Fellow of the American School at Athens, who was in Rome at the time, was kind enough to examine the stone anew and make accurate measurements of it for me.

The work of Petersen found at that time little recognition among scholars.[3] Kaibel in his discussion of the fragments in the fourteenth volume of the Corpus (1890) does not refer to Petersen's interpretation, evidently because he was not acquainted with it, although Petersen's article had appeared five years before. Kaibel cites only Wilamowitz' interpretation (communicated to him in a private letter) of 1098, which is essentially the same as that of Petersen. Wilamowitz likewise seems to have been unacquainted with Petersen's article, for he apparently reached the same general conclusions independently. After their publication in the Corpus the fragments did not receive further attention until they were treated by A. Wilhem in his *Urkunden dramatischer Auffuehrungen in Athen*, pp. 195 ff. But between the writing of the main body of that monumental work in the years preceding 1903 and its publication in 1906 A. Koerte published an article in the *Rheinisches Museum* LX (1905), pp. 425 ff., dealing with the fragments in detail. Wilhelm's results agree in the main with those of Koerte, and in the appendix to his work (written after Koerte's article had been

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[3] This lack of recognition was due largely to the fact that Petersen's interpretation of the numerals presupposed that there were five comedies entered in the competition in 431 B. C. (*cf.* 1097, l. 6). This view scholars were unwilling to accept because all the evidence, chiefly the didascalic notices prefixed to the plays of Aristophanes, seemed to show that only three comedies were produced at each festival in the fifth century. Petersen's view has since been shown to be correct by the publication of 1098*a*, in the sixth line of which the numeral is written out in full (τέταρτος). It is now generally agreed, as first pointed out by Koerte, that five comedies entered into the competition at both festivals from the beginning, but that this number was reduced to three in the first years of the Peloponnesian War, at any rate before 425 B. C., the year of the *Acharnians*. The number was increased to five again no doubt shortly after the close of the war, some time before 388, the year of the presentation of the present *Plutus*.

published) he says that his own treatment of the inscriptions is superseded by that of Koerte.[4] Therefore we may omit Wilhelm's remarks from the discussion and pass on immediately to a consideration of Koete's article.

Koerte adopted most of Petersen's results, but made some important advances and new discoveries. In the first place he took into consideration a third fragment (IG XIV 1098*a*) found in Rome in 1888,[5] after Petersen had already published his article. This fragment, which is now lost, was no doubt, as Koerte saw, a part of the same inscription as 1097 and 1098. He identified as Telecleides the poet whose record takes up the first part of 1098*a*. He came to the conclusion, as had Petersen, that the fragments must be restored on the basis of about 28—32 letters in each line. Other points will come up in the course of the further discussion.

Koerte's article was followed by an article by Professor Capps in *Classical Philology* I (1906), pp. 201 ff. Capps accepted and recognized some of the results of Koerte, but differed from him in one important point, viz. the original length of line. He contended that the lines of the inscription were originally ca. 50—54 letters in length, i. e. enough to make about two complete items per line, instead of one.

It will be convenient, before going on to discuss the questions at issue, to give at this point a brief description of the general character and construction of the document of which our fragments were a part, points on which there is now in most cases general agreement among scholars.

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[4] Wilh. *Urk.*, p. 255 „Meine Behandlung der römischen Inschriften IG XIV 1097, 1098, 1098*a* ist jetzt überholt durch Alfred Körtes vortrefflichen Aufsatz Rhein. Mus. LX 425 ff., den ich bei der Korrektur dieser Nachträge erhalte.... In der Deutung und Ergänzung der Inschriften 1097. 1098 waren wir unabhängig zu wesentlich denselben Ergebnissen gelangt".

[5] First published by Gatti, *Not. d. Scavi* 1888, p. 190, and *Bull. com.* XVI (1888), p. 144. Kaibel was the first to recognize the fact that this fragment was a part of the same document as 1098. "Aut eiusdem tabulae, cuius est titulus n. 1098, aut consimilis hoc est fragmentum". See also Koerte, *l. c.* p. 426.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENT.

This document in its original complete form recorded in chronological order according to the date of their first exhibition the name and record of all the comic poets who brought out plays in the annual competition in Athens at either the City Dionysia or the Lenaea. Under each poet's name were listed by title all the plays he brought out, arranged according to their success, the victories first, then the seconds, thirds, and so on down to the fifths. Under each of these headings the plays brought out at each festival, City Dionysia and Lenaea, were listed in separate groups. The arrangement of plays in each festival-group was chronological. Views differ on the order in which the festival-groups were arranged. Therefore this point will come up for discussion later.

It is clear from what has been said that the document we are considering was little more than a rearrangement of the material contained in the comic Didascaliae. The Didascaliae, consisting of two separate records, one for the City Dionysia and one for the Lenaea, listed year by year under each archon's name, among other things, the comedies brought out that year with the names of the poets and the prize accorded to each. In the document before us the material in both lists, so far as it concerned comedy, was combined and rearranged under the names of the poets as outlined above. The only additions are a few learned notes, as for example *σώιωι* in 1098*a*, l. 7. The scholarly and laborious task of compiling and rearranging all this material is so typical of the kind of work done by the Alexandrian scholars, that there can be little doubt that our inscription goes back to Alexandrian sources.

Koerte has suggested the hypothesis, which is indeed very plausible, that this source was the work of Callimachus entitled *πίναξ κατὰ χρόνους τῶν ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς γενομένων διδασκάλων*.

The record probably extended back to the time of the introduction of comedy into each of the two festivals, about 486 B. C. for the City Dionysia [6] and 442 B. C. for the Lenaea. [7] How far down it was carried we do not definitely know; the latest date recorded on the fragments preserved is 349 B. C. It is probable, however, that it extended down to about 270 B. C., the end of the classical period, at which point there is a break in the Didascaliae [8] from which our inscription or its source was compiled.

If the limits assigned are correct, the inscription must have been of immense size. The only one of the fragments which is still extant, 1097, measures 46 cm. in width at the fourth line, the widest point, by 56 cm. in height. [9] Therefore the 18 letters of the fourth line occupy on the average a space of $2\,{}^{5}/_{9}$ cm. each in width, and the fourteen lines of the fragment average just 4 cm. per line in height. Since there were about 1800 plays listed, [10] the whole inscription must have covered, at an average of 25 letters per item, some 46 sq. m. or nearly 500 sq. ft. of wall space. The great size of the inscription makes it more than probable that it was inscribed on a wall, no doubt in one of the great imperial libraries in Rome, as suggested by Koerte.

ARRANGEMENT OF FESTIVAL-GROUPS.

Coming now to a discussion of the problems on which scholars have not reached agreement, the first point to be taken up is the arrangement of the festival-groups. The point of departure is the occurrence in 1097, l. 6 of the numeral "Ē" without the name of the festival. From this Petersen drew the simple and obvious conclusion that the festival-name was written after the designation of rank only when there was also a change of festival, but not if the following items belonged to the same festival as those immediately preceding.[11] Capps drew the further conclusion that "under each rank-group that festival-group was given first in which the poet had first been assigned to that rank. The festival-groups do not, therefore, succeed each other in a fixed order (as e.g. Λήναια-ἐν ἄστει, Λήναια-ἐν ἄστει, etc.), but the first festival in a given rank-group may be the same as the last in the preceding rank-group."

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[6] *Cf.* Capps, *The Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia* (= "*The Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*" VI (1903)), pp. 1 ff.

[7] *Cf.* Capps, *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XXVIII (1907), pp. 179 ff.

[8] IG II 972 Wilh. *Urk.*, p. 37 f.

[9] The measurements are by Mr. R. W. Scott. See note 2.

[10] 485—440 = 45 years at 5 plays per year = 225 plays
440—430 = 10 „ at 10 „ „ „ = 100 „
430—400 = 30 „ at 6 „ „ „ = 180 „
400—270 = 130 „ at 10 „ „ „ = 1300 „
Total . . . . 1805 „

Koerte does not take up this point specifically, but it is evident from his restoration that he assumed a fixed order of festivals, the City Dionysia always preceding the Lenaea of the same rank. With reference to the writing or omission of the festival-name he apparently follows no fixed rule, since he usually supplies the festival-name regardless of what precedes, except in one instance where it is inconvenient for him to do so. His hypothesis with its fixed order of festivals is quite unsatisfactory, since it offers no explanation of the omission of the festival-name in 1097, l. 6.

On the other hand the arrangement of festivals suggested by Capps seems to be forced and unnatural, particularly in view of the fact that the rank-groups (victories, seconds, thirds, etc.) do follow each other in normal order without respect to the date of the poet's first success in each rank. It is difficult to see why the compiler would have adopted such a stilted arrangement of festivals either for his own convenience or because of any fancied advantage for literary students using the compilation. On a priori grounds we should certainly assume that the festivals followed each other in a regular fixed order. The internal evidence of the inscription, too, though necessarily *ex silentio*,[12] tends to

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[11] See Lipsius *Rhein. Mus.* LXV (1910), p. 165 f.

[12] In the nature of the case. The only definite proof of an absolutely regular arrangement would be the complete inscription.

bear out this conclusion. Under the arrangement suggested by Capps we should expect the Lenaea to precede the Dionysia in rather more than fifty per cent of the cases, the Lenaea being the junior festival at which the poet would presumably win the right to exhibit a play earlier than at the more important City Dionysia. On the stone, however, we have two clear instances of Λήναια not preceded by the numeral[13] and two instances of ἐν ἄστει with the numeral,[14] showing that in these four cases at least City Dionysia preceded Lenaea of the same rank. Furthermore, an analysis of the first part of 1098 makes it all but certain that in the case of Anaxandrides the City Dionysia preceded the Lenaea right from the seconds on down through the fifths. On the other hand, there are no instances on the stone in which we must assume that the Lenaea preceded the City Dionysia of the same rank. In the case of ἐ]νίκα Λήναι[α in 1098, l. 15 the explanation is no doubt that this poet won no victories at the City Dionysia. Naturally, then, his Lenaean victories would come first in his record.

The only difficulty is found in 1098, l. 16 where the reading of the stone is reported as follows: IENAΣT. If correctly reported the "I" would probably be the last letter of the title of a play in the dative case. However, under the arrangement of festivals suggested above ἐν ἄστει must in every case be preceded by the numeral. The letters are near the bottom of the stone where it was no doubt badly broken and I propose to read Γ̄ ἐν ἄστ[ει.This change is very slight palaeographically and gives us a logical result; it is about at this point that we would expect the poet's thirds to begin. Wilhelm, *Urk.*, p. 203 suggests the possibility of B̄ ἦν.

But if we do not accept Capps' hypothesis, how are we to explain the omission of the festival-name in 1097? The answer seems to be surprisingly simple.

We may assume with Koerte that the festival-groups did indeed follow each other in the fixed and natural order *ἐνίκα ἐν ἄστει—Λήναια*, B̄ *ἐν ἄστει—Λήναια*, etc.; but it would frequently happen that not all of the ten possible groups were represented in a given poet's record. He might have no Lenaean victories to his credit, or no thirds at the City Dionysia, etc. Therefore it would often be the case that a Lenaean group followed immediately after a Lenaean group, or a City group after a City group. In the case of Callias in particular, whose record covers 1097, l. 6, he probably won no fifths at the City Dionysia. Therefore the fifths at the Lenaea followed immediately after the fourths at the same festival, thus making unnecessary the repetition of the festival-name at the beginning of the fifths. This explanation is the more plausible because the fifths of Callias occupy only one line on the inscription as against four lines for the fourths.

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[13] 1098*a*, l. 4, and 1098, l. 9.

[14] 1097, l. 2, and 1098, l. 3.

We conclude, then, that the festival-groups followed each other in a fixed order (*ἐν ἄστει—Λήναια*, *ἐν ἄστει—Λήναια*, etc.), but if it happened that one or the other group was not represented in a poet's record, causing at any point a change of rank without change of festival, then the festival-name was not repeated because it would be unnecessary. This hypothesis preserves the natural order of festivals and explains adequately the omission of the festival-name in 1097, l. 6.

LENGTH OF LINE.

The next point for consideration is the original length of line in the inscription we are considering. Koerte, following Petersen, held that the lines were originally about 28—32 letters in length, i. e. enough for about one complete item per line,[15] while Capps adopted a line of 50—54 letters, i. e. about two items per line. In my opinion Capps' arguments against the shorter line of Koerte are convincing. Two points especially seem to me to be of importance. In the first place his arguments for the introduction of a new poet's name in 1097, l. 10 are all but conclusive. With the shorter line this is, according to Koerte's own words, impossible.[16] In the second place, if 1098 is restored according to the shorter line of Koerte, Anaxandrides, whose career is here recorded, would have gained third place nine times, fourth only once, and fifth four times. Since we are told by Suidas that he won 10 victories and that the total number of his plays was 65, we should be forced to assume that he took second place 41 times. This result is so improbable that Koerte is led to suspect that it is not correct and hence resorts to the conjecture that not all of the 65 plays assigned to Anaxandrides were actually exhibited. Against this assumption Capps correctly says: "This number is by no means incredibly large for a poet whose career extended over something like forty years."[17] There are several other points which tend to bear out Capps' view. On the

[15] ἐπὶ (archon) (title of play).

[16] *Rhein. Mus.* LX (1905), p. 437: „... die Ergänzung eines Dichternamens in Z. 12 ist durch den Raum unbedingt ausgeschlossen".

[17] *Class. Phil.* I (1906), p. 212, note 1.

comparatively small fragment of the stone which is preserved we have one clear instance of Anaxandrides bringing out two plays in one year, viz. 364 B. C. in the archonship of Chion.[18] In 375 he also exhibited two plays; for the recently discovered fragment of the Fasti[19] shows that he won first prize at the City Dionysia of that year, and 1098, l. 5 shows that he also won a third prize in the same year. He also brought out at least one play in the year preceding and the year following as shown by 1098, l. 6. At this rate 65 plays in 40 years or more would not be an excessive number. Another point: Of the twelve titles of plays of Anaxandrides which are preserved on the stone only six are known from other sources. Six titles are new: Ἀμπρακιῶτις, Διονύσου γοναί, Ἐρεχθεύς, Ἰῶ, Μαι[νόμενος, . . π]οιος.[20] According to the list of fragments as found in Kock (II, pp. 135 ff.) there are 36 plays of Anaxandrides known from sources other than this inscription.[21] If the same ratio of known to unknown plays as is found on the inscription (6 : 12) held good for all the plays of Anaxandrides, it would give him a total of 72 plays (6 : 12 :: 36 : 72).[22] This number is in excess of the 65 assigned to him by Suidas and therefore tends to confirm the view that all of the 65 plays were actually exhibited and hence listed on the stone.

These are the two most important arguments of Capps against the shorter line of Koerte, the second of which has been strengthened in several particulars. They have not been answered by Koerte except very cursorily in the *Jahresbericht* for 1911, pp. 227 ff. In the only other discussion of the fragments which has appeared meanwhile, namely that of Lipsius in *Rheinisches Museum* LXV (1910), pp. 162 ff., this scholar, though supporting the view of Koerte on most points, nevertheless accepts the longer line of Capps as correct.[23] There remain now to be discussed several points of less importance which furnish further arguments against the short line.

In 1098*a* at the end of the eighth line on the stone there is a vacant space of some size. The fact that a similar space precedes the name of Xenophilus in the tenth line of the same fragment would seem to indicate that, in the earlier part of the inscription at least, a space was left between the end of one poet's record and the beginning of that of the next. It seems necessary, therefore, to introduce a new poet's name in line 8. This is not possible in the restoration adopted by Koerte and there seems to be no other plausible explanation of the space. The hypothesis of the short line in therefore not satisfactory at this point.

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[18] *Cf.* 1098, lines 1 and 11.

[19] This stone had previously been seen and copied by Pittakis, whence it was taken by Kaibel into the Corpus (IG II 971*c*); but the copy was so confusing and incorrect that it was practically worthless. Wilhelm rediscovered the stone in Athens and published it in the *Jahreshefte d. öst. Inst.* X (1907), pp 35 ff. The text is also given by Capps in *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XVIII (1907), p. 182, and he discusses some of the problems which are raised or solved by this fragment. There is, however, an error in the text as printed there. In the first column the tenth line is omitted and the eleventh line is printed in its place. The last three lines of the first column should read as follows:

9. κωμωιδῶν]
10. (ὁ δεῖνα)]ἐχορή(γει)
11. (ὁ δεῖνα) ἐδίδα]σκεν

[20] Some of these are found complete on the stone and the rest are plausibly restored. All of these restorations are accepted by Koerte except φαρμακομάν]τει in line 12.

[21] Kaibel, Paul-Wiss. *Realency.* I 2079 says: „Heute sind noch 42 Titel [Kock II, pp. 135 ff., lists only 41] nachweisbar (4 sonst unbekannte auf der römischen Inschrift)". He seems not to have counted the *Mai*[*nomenos* and the -*p*]*oios* because only a small part of each title is preserved on the stone. However, since among the known titles of Anaxandrides there is none beginning with *Mai*- or ending in -*p*[*oios*, both must be considered new titles even though their restoration is uncertain.

[22] If, with Koerte, we omit from consideration the *Pharmakomantis*, the proportion will be 5 : 11 :: 36 : x, x equalling 77. Being more than the 72 arrived at above, this result is less favorable to the view of Koerte.

It cannot be argued that this proportion is misleading because we have in the inscription only the titles of plays which were awarded third, fourth, or fifth prize, and that these, being the poorer plays of Anaxandrides, would therefore be less likely to be preserved, as is done by Koerte. He says, *loc. cit.* p. 433: „Ziemlich viele Titel des Steines . . . . sind uns litterarisch nicht bezeugt, das ist aber keineswegs wunderbar, denn wir haben ja überwiegend Titel von Stücken, die weniger gefallen haben". This argument is faulty because the new titles happen to be nearly all thirds, while the very lowest ranks, fourths and fifths, give us the known titles.

[23] „Recht hat er [*sc.* Capps] m. E. darin, dass er für die Zeilen der Urkunden eine wesentlich grössere Länge, etwa von 50 Buchstaben, in Anspruch nimmt, als Petersen und A. Körte angenommen hatten" (p. 165).

In the restoration adopted by Koerte no logical explanation is given of the occurrence and sequence of the festival-groups. In particular the omission of the festival-name in 1097, l. 6 is not accounted for.[24]

Since the short line will not admit a change of festival between lines 4 and 5 of 1098, Koerte is forced to assume, since the recent discovery of a new fragment of the Fasti, that Anaxandrides exhibited two plays at the City Dionysia of 375 B. C. Such an assumption, however, is quite improbable.[25]

In Koerte's restoration there is available in 1098, ll. 14—15, a space of only about 17 letters into which must be crowded an archon's name, the title of a play, and the name of the poet whose record followed that of Anaxandrides on the stone. Koerte is therefore obliged to take an archon with the shortest possible name (Theellos),[26] a play with a very short title (*Theseus*), and a poet with a very short name. Since the list of Lenaean victors, which is complete for the period in question, contains no name in the immediate neighborhood of that of Anaxandrides[27] which is short enough to fit within the allotted space, he suggests Amphis, whose name may possibly have appeared third above that of Anaxandrides, where there is a break in the stone. This solution is possible, but hardly probable. Besides, we should expect the name of the poet whose career is here recorded

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[24] For full discussion of this point see pp. 7 ff.

[25] See p. 22 f.

[26] Wilhelm *Urk.*, p. 203, suggests ἐπ' Ἀρχίου 346/5.

[27] The names preceding and following that of Anaxandrides are as follows: *Philippos*, *Choregos*, *(Anaxandrides)*, *Philetairos*, *Euboulos*, *Ephippos*, *Antiphanes*.

to follow rather than precede that of Anaxandrides in the list of Lenaean victors. He began to exhibit after Anaxandrides, as shown by his position in 1098, and, being a poet of less importance, he probably had to wait longer for his first success. I have therefore supplied Ephippus in line 15.[28] This name is preferable to that of Philetaerus, which Capps has adopted, because the space is hardly sufficient for the longer name.

To sum up, then, I believe that Koerte's hypothesis is untenable for the following reasons:

1. It will not admit the introduction of a new poet's name in 1098*a*, l. 8.
2. It precludes any logical arrangement of the festival-groups and therefore leaves unexplained the omission of the name of the festival in 1097, l. 6.
3. It will not admit the introduction of a new poet's name in 1097, l. 9—10.
4. It involves either a very improbable distribution of the plays of Anaxandrides or the equally improbable assumption that not all of the 65 plays of this poet were listed in the inscription.
5. It scarcely gives us enough space in the lacuna between lines 14 and 15 of 1098 to allow for the insertion of the necessary items.

On the other hand, what are the arguments advanced by Koerte in favor of his hypothesis? He says: „Für die prinzipielle Richtigkeit dieser Ergänzung zu 28—30 Buchstaben spricht vor allem, dass sie sich ohne jede Gewaltsamkeit durchführen lässt und ein klares und natürliches Gesammtbild ergibt..... Diesen schön geschlossenen Verlauf *kann* man zerstören, wenn man eine etwa doppelt oder gar dreimal so grosse Zeilenbreite vorzieht. Die Klammer, welche Zeile 5 und 6 in Gestalt der einander unmittelbar folgenden Archontennamen verbindet lässt sich nur dadurch auflösen, dass man gerade an dieser Stelle einen Wechsel des Festes annimmt..... Ein boshafter Dämon hätte es dann so gefügt, dass grade die zweite Lenaeenaufführung dieser Klasse ein Jahr hinter die letzte städtische fiel, dass ferner der Beginn der Liste vierter

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[28] Suggested by Wilhelm *Urk.*, p. 203.

Preise an den städtischen Dionysien durch eine Lücke verschlungen wurde und dass endlich die erhaltenen Stücke dieser Klasse chronologisch an das letzte Lenaeenstück dritter Klasse anschlossen, sodass Dionysien dritter, Lenaeen dritter, Dionysien vierter den trügerischen Schein einer fortlaufenden chronologischen Reihe hervorrufen. Wer eine so ausgesuchte Tücke des Geschicks für glaublich hält, ist durch mathematische Beweise nicht zu widerlegen.....[29]

This argument is based on three points:

1. The general ease with which the restoration can be carried out and the generally satisfactory result. There are a number of serious objections, as shown above. Therefore this point can hardly be granted.

2. The occurrence of two archons of successive yars in two successive lines of 1098. Here there is independent evidence to show that there was probably a change of rank or festival at this point.

3. The occurrence in four successive lines of 1098 (ll. 4—7) of four dates in chronological order (375, 374, 357, 349),[30] a series which must be broken on any other hypothesis. The only break we have introduced is between 375 and 374, so that this argument as against the restoration suggested in this paper coincides with number two. Quite aside from this, however, the argument is entirely nullified, as already noted by Capps,[31] by the fact that there is an exactly similar series (367, 364, 356, 352) in the lower part of the same fragment (ll. 10—13), in which the change of festival breaking the series happens to be preserved on the stone (*ἐν ἄστει* l. 11). Koerte breaks the series again in line 12 by restoring *ἐν ἄσ*]*τει*.

Concluding, then, that we must operate with a longer line, if we are to solve the problem, the question arises whether Capps' hypothesis of a line of 52—56 letters is satisfactory, or whether a still longer line must be assumed. Capps deals with this question, but comes to the conclusion

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[29] *Rhein. Mus.* LX (1905), p. 430 f.

[30] For Capps, who adopted the restoration *Phanos*[*tratou* in the fourth line, the series was composed of five numbers.

[31] *Class. Phil.* I (1906), p. 211 f.

that a line of more than 52—56 letters is not possible. He says in the first place: "The addition of two entries [i. e. above the absolute minimum of one] would increase the victories of Lysippus to three — too large a number for a poet who, on the hypothesis, produced only six plays".[32] This conclusion is not at all necessary. No doubt the seconds of Lysippus began in the latter part of this line, so that he won only one or two victories, according as the change came after the first or second item.

The next argument is of precisely the same character: ".... the victor in l. 15 of 1098 would have won three Lenaean victories; but no poet in the Lenaean list col. IV[33] is credited with this number except Anaxandrides, whose record precedes, and Nausicrates, whose first victory was some twelve years later". Here again, as in the case of Lysippus, the seconds of the poet in question no doubt began in the latter part of the line, and he won only one or two victories at the Lenaea. Γ̄ *ἐν ἄστει* in line 16 is a third place, instead of a victory, at the City Dionysia (see p. 9).

The third argument is of a more general character: "If we add another entry to each line [i. e. in addition to the two which he assumes], the number of plays produced by the poets in these fragments becomes too large to be probable and their distribution among the rank-classes becomes disproportionate. One example will suffice: Anaxandrides, the poet of 1098, is reported to have brought out 65 plays.... By adding two full entries [i. e. above the minimum of one] to the line we should have 38 in the last three classes, leaving 10 firsts to only 17 seconds. But by the line which I propose he exhibited 26 plays which were awarded third, fourth, and fifth, leaving 29 seconds and 10 firsts — a reasonable proportion for an eminent poet".

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[32] The fact that Bergk originally restored the inscription on the basis of a line about 30 letters in length, giving Lysippus a City victory in 410 or 409, has established the idea that -]*που* in line 8 must refer to a City victory, and there is a good deal of inertia to overcome in getting away from it.

[33] Capps later showed that the Lenaean list began with Xenophilus, so that the column referred to is the third, not the fourth.

The following table shows in detail the distribution of the plays of Anaxandrides over the various ranks and festivals according to the line of two items and the line of three items, the alternative we are considering, respectively:

	LINE OF TWO ITEMS			LINE OF THREE ITEMS		
	Dionysia	Lenaea	Total	Dionysia	Lenaea	Total
I. . . .	7	3	10	7	3	10
II. . .	18	11	29	9	8	17
III. . .	3	3	6	5	4	9
IV. . .	7	4	11	10	6	16
V. . . .	5	4	9	7	6	13
Total	**40**	**25**	**65**	**38**	**27**	**65**

We have little or no definite information regarding the proportion of seconds, thirds, etc. won by any of the comic poets, except what may be gleaned from the fragments under discussion.[34] Therefore any judgment must be essentially subjective and incapable of confirmation or refutation on definite principles. It is the writer's opinion that the proportion in the longer line, 27 firsts and seconds out of a total of 65, is more probable than the other, 39 firsts and seconds out of a total of 65.[35]

The other two fragments (1098*a* and 1097) are still to be considered with reference to Capps' last argument, which is general in its scope. Of these the former is too fragmentary to furnish any arguments pro or con. It can be filled out to a length of about 75 letters quite as well as to 52—56 (see plate A opp. p. 54). In 1097 the first poet whose career is recorded is Callias.[36] He won two City victories and probably none at the Lenaea. A line of three items gives approximately the following result: I. City 2 Lenaea 0 II. City ? Lenaea ? III. City ? Lenaea 3 IV. City 6 Lenaea 7 V. City 0 Lenaea 3. The sum of these is 21, not counting his seconds at both festivals nor his thirds at the City Dionysia. These were probably not very numerous and would bring the total of Callias' plays up to about 25 or 26. This number may seem quite large for a poet of whose plays only six titles are preserved (by Suidas). It is to be noted, however, that on the comparatively small fragment which we are considering no titles are given in two instances, the general term "comedy" being used instead of a specific title.[37] It seems clear, therefore, that some of Callias' plays were either given no titles at the time they were exhibited, or, if they originally bore titles, they were not so recorded in the early didascaliae. In any event the Alexandrian scholars who compiled the didascalic material which we find in our inscription were unable to identify certain plays of Callias by title and to assign them to the year of their production. It is not surprising, then, that only six titles of a total of 25 or 26 plays should be preserved. It is also to be noted that Callias' career extended over at least 20 years and in all probability five or ten years more than that. In at least one year, 434 B.C., he exhibited two plays;[38] 25 or 26 does not therefore seem too large a number of plays for him, and there can be no objection to the line of three items on this score.

Aristomenes, whose record takes up the latter part of 1097,[39] had a very remarkable career extending over more than 50 years, and the addition of a few plays to the number of his firsts, seconds, and thirds is of no moment.[40]

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[34] The victors' lists so far as they are complete give us the number of victories won at each festival. From Suidas and other sources we often know the total number of a poet's plays, and thus have some idea of the proportion of firsts as compared to the total number of plays. We have no means, however, of judging the proportion of seconds, thirds, etc. either with relation to the total or to each other.

[35] Professor Capps now assures me that he regards this proportion as more probable than the other.

[36] See also p. 39.

[37] *Cf.* lines 2 and 3.

[38] *Cf.* lines 1 and 6.

[39] See p. 43.

[40] The total number of his plays is not known.

Their distribution over the various ranks and festivals would be as follows, according to a line of two and of three items respectively:

	LINE OF TWO ITEMS			LINE OF THREE ITEMS		
	Dionysia	Lenaea	Total	Dionysia	Lenaea	Total
I. . . .	0	2	2	1	2	3
II. . .	1	1	2	1	5	6
III. . .	2	4 +	6 +	2	2 +	4 +

Compare also the notes on 1097 pp. 43 ff.

Having seen now on the negative side that the arguments against a line of more than two items are quite inconclusive, what are the reasons on the positive side why the longer line of three items is to be preferred? Aside from the generally satisfactory result, there are chiefly three points as follows:

1. The longer line gives us a much more plausible distribution of the plays of Anaxandrides, as shown above.

2. In the line of two items as adopted by Capps there are available in the lacuna between lines 9 and 10 of 1097 only 7—11 spaces for the name of the archon and the title of a play. This is hardly enough.

3. With the shorter line the festivals in lines 9 to 14 of 1097 cannot be arranged to follow in the proper order as outlined on page 9 f. In line 14 we find listed the *Kolcophorai* of Aristomenes, which won third prize at the Lenaea of 424 B. C. Working back from this point, there must be a change of rank or festival between lines 11 and 12 on account of the dates (390 and 435). This change would have to be either the thirds at the City Dionysia or seconds at the Lenaea. In any event *ἐν ἄσ]τει* at the beginning of line 11 could only be the beginning of the seconds at the City Dionysia. All of the items before this point belonging to Aristomenes would therefore have to be victories. There is space (in Capps' restoration) for just one item between lines 10 and 11. Now Aristomenes won two Lenaean victories, the first about 438 or 437, as shown by his position in the victors' list. The victory in 394 (*ἐ]πὶ Διοφάντου Διονύ[σωι* l. 10) could therefore be neither his first Lenaean on account of the date nor his second Lenaean on account of the item to be supplied between lines 10 and 11, which would then be unaccounted for. Neither could it be a City victory, for there would be no place for the two Lenaean victories. The only alternative then to a line of more than two items is to adopt at this point a very improbable arrangement of the festivals.

We have concluded, therefore, that the lines of the fragments must be filled out to a length of about 72—76 letters, enough to make about three items per line.[41] There remain now to be discussed several important points in the reconstruction of 1098, viz. the changes of rank and festival in lines 4—7 and in connection therewith, the restoration of the archon's name in line 4.

In the third line of 1098, according to all the restorations that have been suggested hitherto, Anaxandrides is credited with third place at the City Dionysia in the archonship of Charisander, 375 B. C. Since these restorations have been published, a new fragment of the Fasti has been discovered and published by Wilhelm.[42] This fragment shows that Anaxandrides won *first* prize at the City Dionysia of 375 B. C. Therefore Wilhelm says: "Anaxandrides hat im Jahre des Archons Charisandros 376/5 .... an den Dionysien nicht nur den ersten, sondern auch den dritten Preis erhalten, wie das römische Verzeichnis seiner Siege I G XIV 1098 .... lehrt."[43] The same conclusion is reached by Koerte in his review of the literature on Greek comedy from 1902 to 1909.

[41] A still greater length of line, of four items or about 96—98 letters, is not possible, because it would give Anaxandrides 50 plays, out of a total of 65, in the last three ranks. Since he won ten victories, it would leave him only five seconds, a result as improbable as that which follows from Koerte's short line, giving him 41 seconds.

[42] See note 19 p. 12.

[43] *Jahreshefte d. öst. Inst.* X (1907), p. 40.

He says: "Ferner lernen wir, dass auch im ersten Drittel des IV. Jahrh. gelegentlich ein Dichter zwei Stücke am selben Fest zur Aufführung brachte, denn Anaxandrides siegte nach den Fasten im Jahre 375 an den städtischen Dionysien und wurde nach I G XIV 1098 am selben Feste dritter."[44]

This discovery, if it is a discovery, would be surprising to say the least, because in the time of Aristophanes such a practice does not seem to have existed,[45] and there are no indications that a change had taken place almost within a decade of his last appearance on the stage. The first evidence that we have that seems to point to such a practice is an inscription in which a Diodorus is apparently credited with second and third places in the year of the archon Diotimus. This inscription was assigned by Boeckh and Meineke to the year 354/3, but it has been conclusively proven by Capps[46] that we are dealing with a later archon of the same name and the inscription is to be assigned to the year 288/7.[47] Even in the case of this inscription in which the name Diodorus occurs twice, Hiller was inclined to believe that they were two different poets of the same name.[48] Wilhelm is inclined to reject this view on the ground that, in such an event, a distinguishing epithet would be required. There is some evidence, however, to show that there were two comic poets of that name bringing out plays

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[44] *Jahresbericht* 1911 (Erste Abteilung), p. 222.

[45] Our evidence on this point is chiefly negative. We have in the didascalic notices which have come down to us from the time of Aristophanes no instance in which a poet competed with two plays at the same festival, at least not in his own name. The didascalic notice prefixed to the *Wasps* is corrupt, but this much seems clear, that Aristophanes brought out the *Wasps* and Philonides the *Proagon*. If the latter was actually the *Proagon* of Aristophanes, as scholars seem to be agreed, it is more than likely that Aristophanes concealed his authorship of the play for the very reason that two choruses could not be granted to one poet at the same festival.

[46] *Amer. Jour. Arch.* IV (1900), pp. 74 ff. *Cf.* also Wilh. *Urk.*, p. 52.

[47] Ferguson assigned Diotimus to the year 289/8 and was followed by Kirchner *Pros. Att. s.v.* The year 288/7 has now been definitely established as the correct date by Prof. A. C. Johnson *Class. Phil.* IX (1914), pp. 284 ff.

[48] *Phil. Anz.* XVII (1887), p. 379 note.

at just this time.[49] Therefore, if they were distinguished at all in the didascaliae, we should expect this distinguishing mark to be used here, whether the two names on the stone referred to the same poet or not. For, even if they did refer to the same man, the name of the other Diodorus must have appeared in the didascaliae a few years before or after, and the reasons for distinguishing them would be the same as if the the two names in the present inscription referred to two different comic poets. We may therefore consider it extremely doubtful, at least, whether we have here an instance of a comic poet's exhibiting two plays at the same festival. In any event, it is almost a hundred years after the date we are considering and could have little bearing on it.

IG II 975*h*.

Wilhelm also notes that there may be another case in the second century, in which a poet exhibited three plays at the same festival and gained third, fourth, and fifth places respectively, referring to Koehler's explanation of the fragment IG II 975*h*.[50] In this fragment we find three successive lines ending with the title of a play, whereas in other fragments of the same inscription only alternate lines end with a title, the intervening line in each case being taken up by the name of the actor of the play in the preceding line. Koehler's explanation of the apparent irregularity was that the three plays, the titles of which are found in the fragment under consideration, were all brought out by the same poet and that the poet's name was therefore omitted with the last two titles. There is, as I hope to show, not the slightest foundation for this view. A closer examination of the fragment will make it plain, I think, that there is no irregularity here at all except in the arrangement of items per line.

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[49] There is a Delian inscription of the year 284 B.C. in which the names *Διόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος* and *Διόδωρος Σινωπεύς* appear among the *κωμῳδοί*. *Cf. Bull. Corr. Hell.* VII, p. 105; Wilh. *Urk.*, pp. 59 ff. and Robinson *Ancient Sinope* (= *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XXVII (1906)), p. 270 f.

Note also that in Suidas *s.v.* we find the expression *καὶ αὐτὸς κωμικός*, a phrase which is usually used when a similar poet of the same name has preceded. It is probable, therefore, that the text of Suidas originally included another comic poet named Diodorus immediately preceding the present notice.

[50] Koehler, IG II, p. 403 „Restitutio ambigua est; suspicor poetam, cuius nomen vs. 2 scriptum fuit, tribus comoediis certasse".

In the fragment under consideration only the latter part of each line is preserved, and we do not know exactly how much is broken away at the beginning. The unequal length of lines 6 and 7, however, furnish us with a fairly definite clue. The minimum for the archon's name in line 7 is about six letters. Therefore there can hardly be *less* than 17 letters missing in this line[51], or less than 15 letters in the line above.[52] On the other hand, the archon's name in line 6 can hardly have contained more than 13 letters; therefore not *more* than 18 letters can be lacking in the line, or more than 20 in the next. It follows that we must supply 17—20 letters in line 7, 15—18 in line 6, and 14—17 in the first five lines of the fragment. If we compare this result with other fragments of the same inscription, it becomes at once clear that we are dealing here with a wider column than is found in other parts of the inscription. The usual arrangement is to have each item, as for instance — archon's name — poet and title of play — actor — victorious actor — occupy a separate line. That such is not the case here can be seen at a glance. The reason for a different length of line also seems to be clear.

The stone on which our fragment is preserved is finished at the top and on the side. This fact makes it very probable, as Reisch saw,[53] that we have before us the beginning of the last column of the whole inscription. Now if the stone-cutter had adopted a column of regular width, there would have remained some unused space on the right, not enough, however, to accomodate another column. In order to avoid wasting this space, he put two items in each line, where their length would permit, instead of only one as in the other columns of the same inscription.[54]

IG II 975*h*

(poet) (14) (play) (actor)
1. . . . . ὑπ]ε Λυσίμαχος
(poet) (16) (play)
2. . . . .]άκοντα
(actor) (13) (poet) (play)
3. ὑπε . . . .]Σαλαμινίαις
(actor) (poet) (6) (play)
4. ὑπε Φίλων . . . . ’Ατ]θίσιν
(actor) (victorious actor)
5. ὑπε Λυσίμαχος ὑπο Φ]ίλων
(archon)
6. ἐπὶ ’ΑριστοΦῶντος ο]ὐκ ἐγένετο
(archon) (9)
7. ἐπὶ . . . . οὐκ ἐγένε]το

Taking up now the fragment in detail, Capps' restoration of the victorious actor's name in line 5 as Philo is all but certain. In the first part of this line must be restored the name of the actor of the play mentioned at the end of the previous line. A very plausible restoration is Lysimachus, whose name appears in the first line of the fragment. The name fits within the limits determined, and it very frequently happened that an actor performed in two plays at the same festival.[55] The restoration above is based on this hypothesis, which works out well for all the seven lines of the fragment:

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[51] See the restoration on p. 25.

[52] It is not necessary to count an extra letter for the sixth and seventh lines because, in the later columns of the large inscription of which this fragment is a part, the lines containing the names of archons under whom no contests were held do not begin a space to the left of the regular lines of the column, as they do in the earlier columns. *Cf.* IG II 975*d*, ll. 6 and 7; *a*, ll. 4 and 5; *b*, l. 11; *c*, l. 14 etc. Wilh. *Urk.*, plate opp. p. 68.

[53] Reisch *Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gym.* LVIII (1907), p. 299. ".... Die Zeilenreste auf Fragm. *h*, das die rechte obere Ecke einer Platte bildete und eine veränderte Disposition der Zeilen zeigt, dürfen mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit als den Anfang der letzten Kolumne angesehen werden, die ihren Platz unmittelbar rechts von der mit ca. 158 v. Chr. beginnenden Kolumne von Fragm. *d* hatte, also die Jahreslisten von etwa 140 ab bis höchstens 125 oder 120 umfasst haben wird".

[54] Or it may be that he saw that there would not be enough space at the bottom to accomodate all the items still to be entered, if he adopted a column of regular width, and that he doubled the items in each line for this reason.

1. In the first line we have 14 spaces for the poet's name and the title of the play.

2. The letters at the end of the second line are evidently the last part of the title of a play. Either the poet's name or the title of the play must have been exceptionally long. It was probably the latter;]*ακοντα* is probably one of the numerals *τριάκοντα* or *τετταράκοντα*, before which a noun is to be supplied to make the complete title. It could also be an unusually long title ending in *-δράκοντα* or the like. Because of the unusual length of this item there was no room to add the name of the actor in the same line as is done in the two preceding lines. Therefore the actor's name had to be carried over to the next line.

3. In this line must be supplied the name of the actor of the play recorded in the previous line and the poet of the *Salaminiai*. The 13 spaces available are ample.

4. In this line, if we adopt Capps' plausible restoration Ἀτθίσιν,[56] there remain 11 spaces for the name of the actor and the poet. In this instance both names would have to be rather short, but the occurrence can be duplicated in the same inscription, frag. *c*, ll. 18—19. Capps' restoration of the actor's name as Philo is all but certain, but the poet's name cannot be Alexis on account of the date.

5. See the discussion above.

6. The archon's name in this line must have contained 12 letters. Archons' names of this length are not exactly common, but there happens to be one of approximately

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[55] *Cf.* IG II 975*b*, ll. 1 and 5; *c*, ll. 18 and 22; *d*, ll. 2 and 4, 13 and 15 (Wilh. *Urk.*, plate opp. p. 68).

[56] Kumanudis suggests the possibility of *Euanthides*, the title of one of the plays of Philemon, but it is too long to fit within the space at our disposal.

the date required whose name exactly fills the space, viz. Aristophon.[57] It is probable that his name is to be restored here. The exact year of his archonship is not known.

7. The archon's name in this line must have contained about 8 or 9 letters. Unfortunately few of the archons between 150 and 140 B. C. are known, or we could probably date the fragment exactly. The juxtaposition of two archons' names of such unequal length would not be very common.

The above explanations serve to show that all the items found in other parts of the inscription followed in regular order in the fragment before us. The only irregularity is in the grouping of the items per line. Koehler's explanation is therefore without any foundation, and this cannot be considered a case in which a poet exhibited more than one play at the same festival.

So far as we know, then, there is no evidence to show that a poet ever exhibited more than one play at the same festival, except the didascalic inscription in which the name Diodorus occurs twice, and here the argument is nullified by the fact that two comic poets of that name were active at the time. Therefore, considering that in the time of Aristophanes every indication points to the contrary, we should, on a priori grounds, hardly expect to find Anaxandrides bringing out two plays at the City Dionysia of 375 B. C.[58] Now the City victory of Anaxandrides in that year, based on the definite statement of the Fasti, is not open to the slightest doubt. His third at the same festival, which is based on the current restorations of 1098, is far less certain; for the distribution of the various items over rank-classes and festivals in 1098 is to a certain extent based upon conjecture. If a closer examination of 1098 shows that *ἐπὶ Χαρισάνδρο[υ* in line 5 does not necessarily refer to the City Dionysia, but, by a slightly different and more plausible restoration, will belong to the Lenaea of that year, then we should naturally adopt such a restoration instead of accepting the conclusion of Wilhelm and Koerte that Anaxandrides exhibited two plays at the City Dionysia of 375 B.C.

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[57] *Cf.* Kirchner *Pros. Att.* no. 2107*a* (vol. II, p. 448). Even though Reisch's assignment of the fragment is almost certainly correct (see note 53 above), the date can be only approximately determined, for it depends to a large extent upon the number of years in which no contest was held. If there were many such years the date might be as late as 130, if only a few it might be as early as 150.

[58] That Wilhelm recognized this fact at least prior to the finding of the last fragment of the Fasti is evidenced by his statement *Urk.*, p. 201: „Da nach Z. 11 ein zweites Stück des Anaxandrides im Jahre des Archon Chion ἐν ἄστει gesiegt hat, ... hat das in der ersten Zeile erwähnte Stück als an den Lenaien aufgeführt zu gelten". The same is true of Koerte, for he says *Rhein. Mus.* LX (1905), p. 430: .... weil wir sonst im Jahre 364 an den städtischen Dionysien zwei Stücke desselben Verfassers haben würden, was für diese Zeit kaum anzunehmen ist".

In the restorations of Koerte[59] and Capps[60] no change is introduced between Γ̄ *ἐν [ἄστει* in line 3 and *ἐπὶ Χαρισάνδρο[υ* in line 5, thus giving Anaxandrides a third at the City Dionysia of 375 B.C. The simplest solution of the difficulty would certainly seem to be to have the thirds at the Lenaea begin in line four. Space conditions are ample, as can be seen by referring to the restoration on plate C. The third prize in 375 would then belong to the Lenaea instead of to the City Dionysia. Since lines 5 and 6 contain archons of two successive years a change is necessary here also; the fourths at the City Dionysia must begin in the latter part of line 5. Perhaps the most noticeable difference in result between the restoration I have suggested and the one adopted by Capps (apart of course from the extra item per line) is the change in the distribution of the plays of Anaxandrides over the various rank-classes. The shifting of the festival-names has increased the number of fourths at the expense of the thirds. The suggested arrangement gives him only 9 thirds as against 16 fourths. Though this result is perhaps not quite what we would expect, still there is nothing improbable in it. That we must not expect the plays to be too equally divided among the different classes

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[59] *loc. cit.*

[60] *Cf. Class. Phil.* I (1906), p. 220.

is shown by 1097, in which the fourths of Callias take up four lines while the fifths occupy only one.

Thus it will be seen that it is at least not necessary, on the basis of 1098, to suppose that Anaxandrides took third prize in addition to his victory at the City Dionysia of 375 B.C. Since other evidence points rather to the contrary, as we have seen, it seems preferable to refer his third in 375 to the Lenaea of that year. There is still another point to be considered which tends to support this view.

Hitherto the only possible restoration of the archon's name in line 4 of 1098 has been *Φανοσ]τράτου* the archon of 383/2, for the following reasons: The archon in line 5 is Charisander, 376/5. Since the arrangement of plays in each festival-group is chronological, so long as no change, either of festival or of rank, was introduced between lines 4 and 5, the archon of the fourth line had to be earlier than 376/5 B.C. The only archon before this date within the limits of Anaxandrides' activity whose name ends in *-τρατος* is Phanostratus 383/2; hence that name was the only possibility.[61]

The restoration of Phanostratus' name would date the first appearance of Anaxandrides at least as early as 384[62] and probably several years earlier.[63] Now we know from the Parian Marble that he won his first City victory in the year 376;[64] and according to the calculations of Capps in the *American Journal of Philology* XXVIII (1907), pp. 176 ff., his first Lenaean victory should fall about 375—373 B.C.[65]

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[61] Demostratus, the archon of 393/2, was of course out of the question.

[62] For two items must, under the hypothesis we are considering, be supplied between Γ̄ *ἐν ἄστει* and the archon's name.

[63] Unless we wish to assume that he was awarded third place at the City Dionysia in three successive years: 384, 383, 382.

[64] Jacoby *Mar. Par.*, p. 18.

[65] In *Class. Phil.* I (1906), p. 220, note, Capps was inclined to put his first Lenaean victory as early as 380 B.C., influenced no doubt by the date of Phanostratus (383/2); but since, as I shall try to show, this is probably not the correct restoration of the archon's name, there is no longer any reason for dating the first Lenaean victory of Anaxandrides as early as that, and we may accept the later date (375—373), which is based on the victors' list.

This date, or at least a date subsequent to his first City victory, would also seem to be indicated by the fact that he won seven victories at the City Dionysia as against only three at the Lenaea. Apparently he differed from the majority of comic poets in that he won his first success at the major festival, not at the Lenaea as most of them did. Therefore, if we date his first appearance as early as 386—384, we are forced to assume that eight or ten years elapsed between his first exhibition and his first victory. It does not seem reasonable, however, that a poet of his ability should have had to wait so long as that for his first success in a period almost entirely barren of great comic poets.[66]

In the case of all the comic poets of first rank, where we have any definite information regarding the interval between their first appearance and first victory, we find that they won a victory at one of the two festivals within a few years of their first exhibition. The following are cases in point:

Phrynichus began to exhibit in the archonship of Apollodorus, 429 B. C.[67] In the Lenaean victors list we find the following order of names: Phrynichus, Myrtilus, Eupolis, then there is a break in the stone. Since the Acharnians of Aristophanes won the first prize at the Lenaea of 425, Eupolis' first victory must have been in 426 or before. There are therefore only four years for the first victories of the three poets mentioned above, and we can date their first Lenaean victories within a year, Phrynichus 429 or 428, Myrtilus 428 or 427, Eupolis 427 or 426. Since Phrynichus began to exhibit in 429, he was victorious on his first attempt or in the following year.

Eupolis began to exhibit in the same year as Phrynichus

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[66] The eminent poets of Old Comedy, such as Cratinus, Eupolis, Aristophanes, Plato, etc., were dead, while the greatest poets of Middle Comedy, such as Eubulus, Antiphanes, Alexis, etc., had not yet begun their activity on the stage.

[67] Anon. *de com.* II, 10 (Kaibel, *C G F* I, p. 8); *cf.* also Suidas *s. v.*

(429)[68] Therefore there there was an interval of only two or three years between his first appearance and his first Lenaean victory (427 or 426).

Aristophanes began to exhibit in the archonship of Diotimus, 427 B. C.[69] and won his first Lenaean victory with the Acharnians in 425, only two years after his first appearance.

Philemon won his first City victory (his first Lenaean came later) in the archonship of Euthycritus, 327 B. C.,[70] but the date of his first appearance is not definitely known. Wagner would date his *Lithoglyphos* as early as 341 B. C.,[71] which would leave an interval of at least 14 years between his first appearance and first victory. The evidence given for the date is, however, far from convincing. In the play mentioned Aristomedes is ridiculed as a thief as he is in [Dem.] X 73 and in the *Heroes* and *Icarians* of Timocles. Hence Wagner draws the conclusion that the references are all to some well-known act of Aristomedes, that the plays, therefore, must have been written about the same time as the oration of [Demosthenes], viz. ca. 341 B. C. But it is not even certain that the oration in question was written at this time,[72] and, even granting this, the play may have been brought out a number of years after the oration was delivered. Aristomedes is said to have been ridiculed in a similar manner by Deinarchus,[73] who does not seem to have begun his activity in Athens until about 336/5 B. C.[74] Apparently, then, Aristomedes continued to be an object of comic jest at least up to this time.

Menander began to exhibit in the archonship of Anticles,

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[68] Anon. *de com.*, *loc. cit.*

[69] Anon. *de com.* II, 11.

[70] Jacoby *Mar. Par.*, p. 21.

[71] *Symbolarum ad comicorum Graecorum historiam criticam capita quattuor*, p. 26 f.

[72] Blass *Att. Ber.* III² A, pp. 382 ff.

[73] Wagner, *loc. cit.*

[74] Blass, *op. cit.* III² B, pp. 293 ff.

324 B. C.[75] and won his first victory at the Lenaea about 322—320, an interval of only a very few years.

Diphilus was, according to Wagner, of about the same age as Menander and began to exhibit about the same time. His name appears in the Lenaean victors' list third after that of Menander, indicating a first victory about 318 B. C., some six years after his first appearance.

In the case of Leucon it is quite certain that a good many years elapsed between his first appearance and his first victory — his first City victory at least. He exhibited as early as 422 B. C. in competition with the *Wasps* of Aristophanes[76] and did not win a City victory until some 15 years later, about 407, as shown by his position in the City victors' list. But even in this case he may have won a Lenaean victory earlier in his career, for there is a gap in the Lenaean list extending from about 425 to 410 B. C. Moreover, we are dealing here with an inferior poet, as shown by the fact that he was third in both 422 and 421, when there were only three poets in the competition.

The evidence certainly goes to show that the first class comic poets were almost invariably victorious at one of the two festivals within a very short time after their first appearance. It does not seem probable, therefore, that Anaxandrides began to exhibit as early as 384 B. C. The restoration of Phanostratus' name as the archon in l. 4 of 1098, which has been our sole authority for a date as early as 384 for the first appearance, is therefore hardly satisfactory. But a different restoration is only possible if a change of festival is introduced between the fourth and fifth lines. Now in treating of the question whether Anaxandrides brought out two plays at the City Dionysia of 375, we came to the conclusion that there should be a change of festival at just this point. Thus the two arguments, being based on two independent considerations both pointing in the same direction, tend to support each other. It should be borne in mind, too, that there is no evidence at all to the contrary. Therefore I feel no hesitation in making the necessary changes in the current restorations and introducing a change of festival between lines 4 and 5 of 1098. In place of Phanostratus it is preferable to supply Lysistratus,[77] the archon of 369/8 B. C. Hence it is no longer necessary to date Anaxandrides' first appearance as early as 384; he probably began to exhibit about 378—377 B. C.

In the restorations shown on plates A, B and C (opp. p. 54), the fragments have been filled out to a length of 74 letters in each line. Following the example of Capps, numbers are given to show approximately how many letters are to be supplied at each point,[78] the years of the archons are given, and various other details are supplied to make the whole result clearer.

NOTES ON 1098*a*

TELECLEIDES. The poet whose record takes up the first part of this fragment has been indentified by Koerte as Telecleides by the titles *Sterroi* in line 5 and *Hesiodoi* in line 7. His name is second in the first column of the Lenaean victors' list, indicating that he won his first victory at this festival about 441—440 B. C. The number of his Lenaean victories is five. His name also appears in the City victors' list on the new fragment discovered and published by Wilhelm (*Urk.*, p. 107) since the articles by Koerte and Capps appeared. It occurs in this list at the top of the second column (Τηλεκλεί[δης]) indicating a first victory shortly after 446 B.C., Callias, whose name must be restored at the bottom of the first column, having won in that year. He is credited with three City victories.

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[75] In Anon. *de com.* it is stated that he began to exhibit in the archonship of Diocles, but the passage is evidently corrupt, since there is no archon of that name in the period in question. Dobree changed it to Philocles, the archon of 321/20, but Clark *Class. Phil.* I (1906), pp. 313 ff. has shown that it should be Anticles, the archon of 325/4.

[76] *Cf.* Ar. *Vesp. Arg.* I. He also exhibited in the following year, 421; *cf.* Ar. *Pac. Arg.* I.

[77] Callistratus, the archon of 355/4, is another possibility, but the position on the stone favors the earlier date.

[78] Of course the figures given are simply averages and make no pretense of being correct for the individual items; only the total number of letters to be supplied in each lacuna is approximately correct.

The Alexandrian pinax, Kaibel *CGF* I, p. 10, gives six as the number of Telecleides' plays. Since he won eight victories alone, the number cannot of course refer to the total number of his plays. The pinax is probably a library catalogue and records the number of plays of Telecleides of which there were copies in the Alexandrian library. This view is borne out by the fact that there are only five plays of Telecleides which are quoted, viz. *Amphiktyones*, *Apseudeis*, *Hesiodoi*, *Prytaneis*, and *Sterroi*.

The titles of the six plays which were extant in Alexandrian times, when this inscription or its source was compiled, were followed in the inscription by the adjective *σῶιος* to indicate this fact. In addition to these six there were some plays of which the Alexandrians knew from the didascaliae the title and year and festival of their exhibition, but of which they had no copies, as for instance the *Stratiotai* (line 8) without *σῶιαι*. Still others of the plays are listed under the general term "comedy", showing that the titles of these were not known, or, if known, could not be assigned to their proper year and festival (1098, l. 4; *cf.* also 1097, ll. 2 and 3). No doubt these plays belong to the early period, when the official records were not so carefully kept. They were probably listed in the same manner in the didascaliae.

The stone is very fragmentary and the restorations suggested can hardly be said to be more than plausible.

1. If Koerte's suggestion of *ἐν ἄ[στει* for ΕΠΔ as transcribed from the stone is correct, it is probably Telecleides' seconds that begin here. It could not be the beginning of his record, for his victories at the two festivals, eight in number, would take up about three lines of the inscription. Since his fourths begin in the sixth line, there would not be enough space for his seconds and thirds. On the other hand it is hardly possible that the first line marks the beginning of his thirds, because they would then extend down to line six, making

a total of about 15 thirds — too large a number. Assuming then that his seconds begin in the first line, we get the following distribution of plays:

	City Dionysia	Lenaea	Total
I . . .	3	5	8
II . . .	4	4	8
III . . .	2	6	8
IV . . .	2	2	4
V . . .	0	2	2
Total .	**11**	**19**	**30**

A total of thirty plays seems a reasonable number for an eminent poet who won eight victories.

2. *Eumenisi* is Koerte's restoration for ETMI as copied from the stone. Telecleides' seconds at the Lenaea probably began in this line.

3. There is no archon in the period covered by the career of Telecleides whose name begins with *Eud-*. Koerte restores it Εὐδ[ήμου (= Εὐθυδήμου, the archon of 432/1 B. C.) and suggests two possibilities for the error: It may be due to a mistake of the stone-cutter in omitting two letters, because the shorter name was more common; or the shorter form preserved on the stone may be the correct one, the longer form which has come down being due to an error in the transmission. Capps suggests the restoration ἐπὶ ᾿Α]ψεύδ[ους, the archon of 433/2, on the supposition that Gatti, who copied the stone, made a mistake in reading the remains of a ψ(ᑊᑊᑊ) as ΠΙ.

4. Κωμωιδί]αι restored by Koerte by comparison with 1097, l. 3.

5. The restoration is Koerte's[79] and is all but certain. It was this title, with the *Hesiodoi* in line 7, that enabled

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[79] Koerte restored the participial form ἀναδιδάξας; Capps changed it to the indicative because of 1097, l. 12.

him to identify as Telecleides the poet whose career is here recorded.

Ἀναδιδάσκειν means "to bring out a play again, a second time." There are numerous instances in which there is evidence to show that a comic poet produced one of his plays a second time with more or less revision. There is no certain case of a repetition of a play with no changes at all. The second production of the *Frogs* of Aristophanes may be a case in point, but even here Zielinski thought he detected evidences of a revision.[80] However, if there was a revision, the changes were probably very few, since the ancients do not distinguish two editions of the *Frogs* as they do in other cases of repetition. On the other hand, we are told definitely that the *Clouds* was revised in part for the second production.[81] In the majority of instances in which a poet is credited with two editions of a play, we have no definite information as to the extent of the revision. In most cases the changes were no coubt quite extensive, since it is improbable that the archon would grant the chorus for a second production (except in special cases) unless the poet had materially changed his play in the meantime. Sometimes, indeed, the second play may have been an entirely new treatment of the material, having practically nothing in common with the first except the title. The first *Plutus* of Aristophanes was brought out in 408 B. C.,[82] while the second, which is the one that has come down to us, was not produced until 388 B. C.[83] Now the plays Aristophanes was writing in 408 were so different in both form and content from the *Plutus* as we have it that it is almost certain that the earlier one was quite a different play. Other instances in which a first and second play of the same title are assigned to a comic poet are the following:

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[80] *Gliederung der altattischen Komödie*, pp. 149 ff.

[81] Ar. *Nub. Arg.* VI.

[82] Schol. ad Ar. *Plut.* 179.

[83] Ar. *Plut. Arg.* IV.

Aristophanes, *Peace Arg.* III.
„ *Thesmophoriazousai.* Athen. I 29*a* and Novati Index.
„ *Aiolosikon.* Athen. IX 372*a* and Novati Index.
Eupolis, *Autolykos.* Galen. V p. 38*b* (= XIV 424 Kuehn).
Archippus, *Amphitryo.* Athen. III 95*e*.
Diphilus, *Synoris.* Athen. VI 247*c*.
Menander, *Epikleros.* Harp. 139, 25 and Athen. XIX 373*c*.

Some cases may be merely inventions of the Alexandrians, who, being unable to locate a reference in the text of the play which they had, concluded that there must have been another edition of the play.[85]

It is probable that in our inscription the term ἀναδιδάσκειν was used in each case in which a poet was credited in two different places in the didascaliae with a play of the same title. Any instance of this would be very noticeable when all the plays of each poet were grouped under his name, as is done in the present inscription. The *Sterroi* therefore appeared also in another place in the record of Telecleides.

6. The numeral here written out in full corroborates Petersen's interpretation of the numerals $\overline{\Gamma}$, $\overline{\Delta}$, $\overline{E}$ in 1907 and 1098, as pointed out by Koerte.

7. σώιοι is clearly Alexandrian in origin and means that there was a copy of the *Hesiodoi* in the Alexandrian library. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that there are preserved a number of fragments of this play.[86] In 1097, l. 9, the situation in exactly the same. It seems clear from these two examples that, in the early part of this inscription at least, the word σῶιος or something similar was added after the title of each play of which there was a copy in

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[84] In tragedy, where the situation is the same as in comedy, there are the following instances:
Sophocles, *Athamas*, *Tyro*, *Phineus*, *Thyestes*.
Euripides, *Phrixus*, *Hippolytus*.
Ion, *Phoenix*.
Lycophron, *Oedipus*.

[85] Wilamowitz, *Herakles* I[1], p. 41 f.

[86] Kock I, pp. 213 ff., frag. 14—21.

the Alexandrian library. This was for the early period from which comparatively few plays would be preserved the easiest and shortest way to distinguish between lost and extant plays. For the later period, however, the majority of plays were no doubt extant in Alexandrian times. It would seem to be a great waste of space and effort, therefore, to add σώιαι after so many titles. It is probable that the process was reversed and the lost plays were designated by οὐ σώιζεται or something similar, as in the didascalic notice prefixed to the *Archarnians.*[87] This conclusion is supported by the evidence of 1098; for in the seventh line the title Ὀδυσσεῖ occurs without σώιαι although the play was no doubt extant in Alexandrian times as shown by a number of fragments of the play which are preserved.[88]

Telecleides' fifths, if he won any, must have begun in this line. The space is hardly sufficient for a change of festival.

8. Νησ]ιώταις is another possibility. On the necessity of introducing a new poet's name here see p. 13 f. He was no doubt very insignificant, since he does not seem to have won any victories and his record takes up only two lines on the stone.

9. I have followed the suggestions of Kaibel and Capps in the restoration of lines 9 and 11, although they are not entirely satisfactory as regards the precise wording, for which there seems to be no parallel. Koerte suggests the the possibility of ὧν καὶ ἐπιτατικὰ in line 9 and ἄκριτα καὶ ἐπιτατικὰ in line 11, but he confesses that he cannot construe the words. Ἄκριτα would, I suppose, mean "unjudged, not entered in the competition". Ἐπιτατικὰ does not seem to have any meaning in the connection. Considering the fact that we have before us an inscription dealing with the various prizes won by the poets with their plays, the restoration of the words τρίτα and νίκην and the general sense of the suggestions of Kaibel and Capps seem to be almost certainly correct; but whether the wording of the rest of the phrase is exactly correct is open to doubt.

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[87] *Arg.* I.

[88] Kock II, pp. 146 ff., frag. 33—34.

10. XENOPHILUS. Xenophilus won the first victory at the Lenaea after the contest at this festival was officially recognized about 442—440 B.C., as shown by the Lenaean victors' list in which his name occurs at the head of the first column. Beyond this little or nothing is known of his career.

NOTES ON 1097.

CALLIAS. The poet whose record occupies the first part of this fragment has been almost certainly indentified by Capps as Callias. Nothing was known of the date of this poet's activity beyond the fact that he belonged to the Old Comedy until Capps restored his name in the third column of IG II 971 *f* (*b* in Wilhelm's notation, *Urk.*, p. 15 f.), one of the fragments of the Fasti, giving him a City victory in 446 B.C. At the same time Capps restored his name in the last place in the first column of IG II 977 *i* (*d* in Wilhelm, *Urk.*), the list of City victors.[89] Only the last letter of the name is preserved there, but Callias' name exactly fills the space, and the date required by the position in the list is about 446. Therefore the restorations support and supplement each other and may be considered certain.

Now in the first line of 1097 there are preserved the first two letters of the title of a play beginning with Κυ-. Among all the titles of Greek comedies which have come down to us there are only two which begin with these letters, viz. the *Kyklope* of Antiphanes and the *Kyklopes* which is attributed to Callias by Suidas, an article in Bekker's Anecdota, and Pollux, and to "Callias or Diocles" by Athenaeus. The activity of the poet whose record occupies the first part of 1097 must have covered at least the years from 440 to 431, as shown by the dates on the stone. Antiphanes, therefore, who was a poet of the Middle Comedy, and Diocles, who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century,[90] are excluded. That leaves only Callias, and the period of his activity corresponds exactly with the date required. There can be little doubt, therefore, that it is his record which is found in the first part of 1097.

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[89] *Cf.* Capps *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XX (1899), p. 396 note; *Introd. of Com. into the City Dion.*, p. 24; Wilhelm *Urk.*, pp. 16 ff.

Callias won two victories at the City Dionysia, but almost certainly none at the Lenaea, since his name does not occur in the extant portion of the Lenaean victors' list, extending down to about 425 B.C. The latest date found on the fragment before us is 431 (l. 5). Therefore his activity extended at least from 446 to 431 and in all probability a number of years more in both directions.

Suidas lists the titles of six plays by Callias: *Aigyptios*, *Atalante*, *Batrachoi*, *Kyklopes*, *Pedetai*, and *Scholazontes*. Many of his plays apparently bore no specific titles or at least could not be assigned to year and festival by Aristotle in compiling the didascaliae which are the ultimate source of all the various inscriptions dealing with the dramatic contests. This conclusion seems necessary from the occurrence of the general term "comedy" in place of a specific title in lines 2 and 3.

The distribution of Callias' plays according to the restoration given on plate B will be as follows:

	Dionysia	Lenaea	Total
I . . .	2	0	2
II . . .	?	?	?
III . . .	1 +	3	4 +
IV . . .	6	7	13
V . . .	0	3	3
Total .	**9** +	**13** +	**22** +

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[90] Suidas says he was a contemporary of Sannyrio and Philyllius. Philyllius' name appears in the Lenaean victors' list near the bottom of the second column, indicating a first victory at that festival about 393—392 B.C. *Cf.* Capps *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XXVIII (1907), p. 188.

1. The *Kyklopes* (restoration by Capps) is, next to the *Pedetai*, the most frequently quoted play of Callias; it was brought out in 434 B.C. Line six of the inscription before us shows that Callias produced another play in that year, this latter one almost certainly at the Lenaea. Since it is extremely unlikely that both plays were brought out at the same festival, the *Kyklopes* should no doubt be assigned to the City Dionysia. It was probably accorded the third prize at that festival, for Callias' fourths begin in the next line. Since the festival-name (ἐν ἄ[στει]) is there given with the numeral, the thirds at the Lenaea must have preceded. A change of festival (Λήναια) must accordingly be introduced between the first and second lines.

3. A change of festival must also be introduced between lines 2 and 6, unless we wish to assume that the poet won fourth place thirteen times at the City Dionysia and not at all at the Lenaea. The most plausible place for the change is between the third and fourth lines. Timocles (l. 3) is the archon of 440 B.C. and Theodorus (l. 4) of 437 B.C. Therefore, if the change is not introduced here, we must assume that the poet won fourth place at the City Dionysia in four successive years, 440, (439), (438), 437 — a possible, but not very probable hypothesis. The space conditions also favor a change in the third line and this restoration affords a better distribution of plays (IV. City 6, Lenaea 7) than does that of Capps, who does not introduce a change of festival until line 5 (IV. City 8, Lenaea 1).

4. The *Satyroi* was brought out at the Lenaea of 437 and took fourth prize. It is not one of the six titles mentioned by Suidas, but was a common title for plays in antiquity, being used by five other poets.

5. The *Hypera sidera* "Iron Pestles", according to Bergk's plausible restoration, was also fourth at the Lenaea, between 437 and 431 B.C. It is not mentioned elsewhere.

6. The *Batrachoi* (though only the last three letters are preserved, Capp's restoration is very plausible, since this is one of the six titles quoted by Suidas) was the last of

the plays of Callias to take fourth place at the Lenaea. Coming second after the item in the foregoing line (431 B. C.) it cannot have been brought out earlier than 429 B. C., and more probably belongs to 428 or 427. On the other hand it cannot have been later than 426 B. C., for the number of competitors had already been reduced to three in 425 when Aristophanes exhibited the *Acharnians*. The reduction from five to three competitors therefore seems to have been made about 427—426 B. C.

The fact that *σώιαι* is not added after the title of the above play indicates that the Alexandrians probably did not have a copy of it, though they knew the title and date of production from the didascaliae. This conclusion is borne out by the fact there are no quotations from the play, the title only being preserved by Suidas.

For the use of the numeral "E" without the name of the festival see pp. 7 ff.

7. LYSIPPUS. Little is known of the career of Lysippus. His position on the stone following Callias, who won his first City victory in 446 B. C., shows that his career must have begun about 445 B. C. or earlier, and line 8 shows that it extended at least down to 410 or 409 B. C. He won at least one victory at one of the two festivals, as the stone proves. This was probably the City Dionysia, and his name has been restored by Capps near the top of the second column of the City victors' list preceding that of Pherecrates,[91] where Wilhelm reports traces of letters indicating a word beginning with Αρι-, Αυτ-, ΑΦ-, or Λυ-.[92]

I have introduced a change of festival in the latter part of this line, for without it Lysippus would be credited with three victories, too large a number for a poet who on this hypothesis exhibited only six plays (Capps). Whether it should come after the first item, giving him only one victory, or after the second, giving him two victories, there

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[91] *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XVIII (1897), p. 197.

[92] Wilhelm *Urk.*, p. 110. Capps, who examined the stone in Athens, states definitely that there is no trace of a crossbar of an A.

is no way of telling. He probably won no Lenaean victory.

8. The name of Theopompus, the archon of 410, is an equally possible restoration. Since they are so close together, it makes little difference practically which we restore. The *Katachenai* was therefore brought out in 410 or 409 and took second prize probably at the City Dionysia. We are not dealing here with a victory, or at least not a first victory, as stated in the handbooks. The play is not mentioned elsewhere.

9. The restoration of the title *Bakchai* is all but certain, since that is the one play of Lysippus of which any fragments are preserved and the didascalic notice, *αὗται μόναι σώιζονται*, shows that it was the only play of Lysippus of which the Alexandrians had a copy. The date is uncertain, but it was probably produced about the same time as the *Pedetai* of Callias (about 432 B. C.), since Lampon is ridiculed in both plays.[93]

ARISTOMENES. Capps' arguments that a new poet's career must begin in the latter part of this line and that this poet is Aristomenes seem to me convincing. Indeed the arguments are more plausible with the longer line of three items which we have adopted than with Capps' shorter line of two. If we supply the full formula *Ἀριστομένης ἐνίκα μὲν ἐν ἄστει*, as seems to be required by line 7 above, it will leave in the shorter line only 7—11 spaces for the archon's name and the title of the play. Both names would therefore have to be so unusually short as to cast a serious doubt on the whole argument. This objection is now entirely removed by the longer line which affords ample space, as may be seen by referring to the restoration on plate B (opp. p. 54). The line of one item adopted by Koerte affords no room for the introduction at this point of a new poet to whose record the rest of the fragment would belong — a fact which forms the basis of one of Capps' arguments against the short line.[94]

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[93] Kock I, p. 697, frag. 14 and p. 702, frag. 6.

[94] See p. 11.

Aristomenes had a very remarkable career, extending as it did at least from 440 to 388 B. C.[95] His name is third in the list of Lenaean victors, indicating a first victory about 440—438 B. C. He is credited with two Lenaean victories. Whether he won any City victories has been a matter of controversy. If the line of three items, which we are considering, and the rules governing the arrangement of the festivals as outlined on page 9 f. are accepted as correct, then Aristomenes must have won at least one City victory. We have shown on page 20 that Aristomenes' seconds at the City begin in line 11. His two Lenaean victories are therefore accounted for by the two items missing between lines 10 and 11. That being the case, the exhibition in 394 B. C. (l. 10) must have been a City victory. So far as this inscription goes, it may have been either his first or his second, depending on whether another play of Lysippus was listed after *σώιζονται* or whether Aristomenes' record began immediately.

In the seventh place of the second column of the City victors' list only the first three letters of the poet's name (API - -) are preserved on the stone. This name is restored by Kaibel and Capps as Aristophanes, while Reisch, Wilhelm, and Koerte maintain that the correct restoration is Aristomenes. The arguments on either side are briefly these: Wilhelm says that the position of API - - in the list points to a date of about 430 B. C., rather before than after.[96] This date is based largely on Dobree's conjecture of *ἐπὶ Θεοδώρου* for the corrupt *ἐπὶ θεάτρου* in Anon. *de com.* II 8, placing the first City victory of Pherecrates, whose name is second above API - - in the list, in the year 437 B. C. Now if Aristophanes' name was second below that of Pherecrates, there would have been only one new poet in the list between 437 and 425 B. C., before which date Aristophanes certainly won no victory at the City Dionysia. Such an occurrence, Wilhelm argues, would be so unusual as to make the restoration of Aristophanes' name impossible. It must be admitted, however, that although *ἐπὶ Θεοδώρου* is palaeographically much more attractive than for example *ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου* (the archon of 431 B. C., as conjectured by Capps), and although twelve years for two poets is much more than the average for the list, yet these circumstances do not entirely exclude the restoration of Aristophanes' name.

Capps advances two arguments in favor of his view,[97] one based chiefly on 1097 and the other on the victor's list. IG II 1097, he says, must be interpreted on the basis of a line of about 52—56 letters in length, because Lysippus cannot have won a first victory in 410 or 409 B. C. a conclusion which the shorter line of Koerte entails, and "this [i. e. a line of 52—56 letters] in turn will altogether exclude Aristomenes from the list of City victors". The still greater length of line which I propose (72—76 letters) does not only not exclude Aristomenes from the list of City victors, but rather indicates that he did win at least one City victory. But since this victory may have been either early or late in his career, no new light is thrown on the subject by the fragment before us. Capps' argument based on 1097, however, loses all of its weight. However, there remains the argument based on the victors' list[98] as follows: If API - - is not restored as Aristophanes, then the first place where this poet's name could have stood in the City victors' list is the fifth line in the third column; but this is too late for his victory in 405 B. C. This argument is open to somewhat the same objections as that of Wilhelm. It is based on the assumption that the victories of Cephisodotus in 402 and of Ameipsias, in 414 B. C. were first victories; they may have been later ones. If we suppose that Ameipsias won his first City victory about 418 or 417 B. C. and Cephisodotus about 408, the name of Aristophanes might have been fifth in column three of the list, after that of Archippus (?). In that case, however, we should have 11 poets' names for a period of only 20 years, from 426, the approximate date of Eupolis' first City victory, to 405, the date of the *Frogs*. 11 names in 20 years is much more than the average, and is just as unusual as the other extreme, 2 names in 12 years, which is the basis of Wilhelm's argument. It should also be borne in mind that we are dealing here with a period in which the number of competitors was restricted to three, and new poets would therefore have less opportunity of exhibiting. It would seem in summing up that there are no really conclusive arguments on either side. But since general indications point rather to a City victory early in Aristophanes' career[99] and only late in that of Aristomenes, I have followed Capps and have adopted a restoration of 1097 giving Aristomenes only one City victory, in 394 B. C. His name would then have appeared about fifth or sixth in the third column of the City victors' list.

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[95] The earliest date on this stone is 439 B. C. (l. 13) and he brought out a play in 388 B. C. in competition with the *Plutus* of Aristophanes; *cf.* Ar. *Plut. Arg.* IV.

[96] *Urk.*, pp. 110 ff.

[97] *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XVIII (1897), pp. 194 ff.

[98] Capps, *loc. cit.*, p. 198 note.

10. The play with which Aristomenes won his victory in 394 B. C. is quoted in two forms, *Dionysos* and *Dionysos asketes*. The shorter form seems to fit a little better in the space available here. His two Lenaean victories take up the lacuna between this line and the next, as stated above.

11. The restoration ἐν ἄσ]τει is practically certain, since among all the titles of Greek comedies that are preserved there is only one that would have -τει in the dative, viz. the *Pharmakomantis* of Anaxandrides. Aristomenes won second prize at the City Dionysia for the first time in 390 B. C., more than 50 years after his first appearance! This fact would tend to bear out the assumption that he did not win a City victory early in his career. The late date (390) makes it probable that this was the only time he was second at the Dionysia; therefore a new category, the seconds at the Lenaea, should be introduced immediately after this item.

12. Ἀνεδίδαξ]ε was restored by Capps by comparison with 1098*a*, l. 5. There is a vacant space after the ε on the stone sufficient for about one letter. Therefore Koerte first supposed that a letter has been omitted in copying the stone and adopted the restoration ἐν ἄστ]ε⟨ι⟩. However, a reëxamination of the stone by his brother showed this to be impossible. In the appendix to his article he therefore withdraws his former suggestion and proposes δ' δ]ὲ instead.[100] The objections to this restoration are two: The festival-name is omitted, although in all other cases he supplies it, regardless of whether there is a change of festival or not. In the second place, δὲ would be quite out of place here. Γ̄ ἐν ἄστει precedes and Ē ἐν ἄστει follows in Koerte's restoration, both without μὲν or δέ.

The second edition of the play to which ἀνεδίδαξε refers must have been brought out before 435 B. C. Since Aristomenes' career can hardly have begun before 442 B. C., only a few years can have separated the first and second editions of the play. At its second exhibition it was accorded the second prize at the Lenaea. The thirds at the City Dionysia began between lines 12 and 13. The dates make it probable that the change came just before the item in line 13 as shown in the restoration.

13. The play brought out in 439 B. C. was therefore probably the first of Aristomenes' thirds at the City Dionysia.

14. Capps' identification of this play with the one with which Aristomenes won third place at the Lenaea of 424 B. C., as found in the didascalic notice prefixed to the *Equites* of Aristophanes, seems to be certain.[101]. This identification is the more plausible because the title as given in the MSS. is corrupt in the passage just cited. The reading of V is Ὑλοφόροις, that of Γ and Θ is Ὀλοφύροις. The Aldine edition follows the reading of Γ and Θ, the other older editors read Ὀλοφυρμοῖς, while modern editors have generally adopted the reading of V.

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[99] Capps, *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XX (1899), p. 196.

[100] He cannot accept Capps' excellent suggestion ἀναδίδαξε because there is not space enough in the short line which he assumes.

[101] *Class. Phil.* I (1906), p. 216. It is accepted by Lipsius *Rhein. Mus.* LXV (1910), p. 165.

The total number of Aristomenes' plays is unknown. Therefore it is uncertain how far his record extended beyond the end of the present fragment. It is probable that he won a considerable number of thirds during the time of restricted competition and a considerable number of fourths and fifths during that part of his career which preceded and followed that period.

NOTES ON 1098.

ANAXANDRIDES. Anaxandrides, whose career is recorded in the first part of 1098,[102] was probably third in importance among the poets of Middle Comedy. The Alexandrian canon included only two poets of Middle Comedy, viz. Antiphanes and Alexis;[103] had there been a third, that poet would no doubt have been Anaxandrides. The Parian Marble records the fact that he was victorious (referring no doubt as usual to his first City victory) in 376 B. C.,[104] and the recently discovered fragment of the Fasti shows that he won a victory at the City Dionysia also in the following year 375 B. C.[105] Suidas *s. v.* places his floruit in the 101st Olympiad (375—372) and assigns to him 65 plays and 10 victories. His name appears in the third column of the list of Lenaean victors, in a position indicating a first victory at that festival about 375—372 B. C.[106] He is credited with three victories at the Lenaea. The number of his City victories must, therefore, have been seven. He began to exhibit about 378 B. C.[107] and continued to bring out plays for about forty years. The latest date recorded on the stone before us is 349 B. C. (l. 8). Two items are

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[102] Identified by Wilamowitz; his discovery was not published by himself and is found only in Kaibel's quotation (IG II 1098) to whom he had communicated his discovery in a private letter. *Cf.* Capps *Class. Phil.* I (1906), p. 201, note 1.

[103] *Cf.* Anon. *de com.* II 12.

[104] Jacoby, *Mar. Par.*, pp. 18 and 186.

[105] See note 19 above.

[106] See p. 29.

[107] See p. 33.

to be supplied after this one, which brings the date at least down to 347. In all probability Anaxandrides continued to exhibit until about 340 or a little later; the *Tereus* which is assigned to him can hardly have been brought out much before that date.

His record must have begun about seven lines before the beginning of the fragment, since all his victories, all his seconds at the City Dionysia and perhaps one at the Lenaea, a total of 20 plays, are broken away at the beginning. It extends down to the end of line 14, a new poet's record clearly beginning in line 15.

On the basis of the restoration of 1098 which is here suggested some very evident conclusions may be drawn as to the period and festival of those plays of Anaxandrides which are mentioned, and some of these are new.

1. The *Mainomenos* (if this restoration is correct; Kock II, p. 145 suggests also *Mainomenoi* and *Mainomene* as other possibilities; Kaibel *Mainadi*) took second prize at the Lenaea of 364 B. C. It is not mentioned elsewhere.

2. The *Dionysou gonai* was brought out at least several years after the Mainomenos, probably not until about 350 B. C., and likewise took second place at the Lenaea. It is not mentioned elsewhere.

3. The *Amprakiotis* was the last of Anaxandrides' plays to be awarded second prize at the Lenaea. Is was produced some years after the *Dionysou gonai,* probably between 350 and 340 B. C. It is not mentioned elsewhere.

4. The *Erechtheus* was awarded third place at the City Dionysia in the archonship of Lysistratus, 368 B. C.[108] It is not mentioned elsewhere.

5. *-λει* is usually restored ’Αχιλ]λεῖ, but Wilhelm notes that the restoration ‘Ηρακ]λεῖ, also the title of a play by this poet, is another possibility. This play won third place at the Lenaea and must have been brought out before 375 B. C. Since Anaxandrides probably did not exhibit before 378,

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[108] See p. 33.

it must have been one of the very first of his plays and can be quite certainly dated between 378 and 375 B. C.

Of the *Achilleus* there is preserved only one fragment consisting of a single word, [109] but of the *Herakles* we have a fairly large fragment, [110] in the fourth line of which Argas, a famous singer and citharode, is mentioned. According to frag. 41, l. 17, [111] of the *Protesilaos* by the same author, Argas was present at the wedding of Iphicrates to the daughter of Cotys, king of Thrace, which took place about 380—378 B. C. Argas is also mentioned in frag. 19 [112] of the *Apobates* of Alexis. Alexis' first Lenaean victory is to be dated about 357—354 B. C., and his first appearance can hardly be placed before 360. [113] Therefore Argas probably lived until after 360 and his floruit is rather definitely determined to be 380—355 B. C. It follows that the *Herakles*, in which mention is made of him, falls within this period. This is not inconsistent with the date determined above for either the *Herakles* or the *Achilleus* (380—375 B. C.). Therefore, in the absence of any definite information regarding the date of the *Achilleus*, it seems preferable to restore the fragment before us as Ἡρακλεῖ.

6. The *Io* was fourth at the City Dionysia in the archonship of Hippodamas, 374 B. C. It is not mentioned elsewhere.

7. The *Odysseus* likewise took fourth place at the City Dionysia and was brought out between 373 and 365, if we read Κηφισοδ[ώρου in line 7, or between 373 and 357, if we read Κηφισοδ[ότου. Of this play we have two considerable fragments. [114] In fragment 34 [115] a certain Democles is mentioned:

> λιπαρὸς περιπατεῖ Δημοκλῆς, ζωμὸς κατωνόμασται·
> χαίρει τις αὐχμῶν ἢ ῥυπῶν, κονιορτὸς ἀναπέφηνεν.

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[109] Kock II, p. 138, frag. 8.
[110] Kock II, p. 141, frag. 15.
[111] Kock II, p. 151.
[112] Kock II, p. 304.
[113] Cf. Capps *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XXI (1900), p. 59.
[114] Kock II, pp. 146—149, frag. 33—34.
[115] Athen. VI 242*e*.

From the description Democles seems to have been a parasite. Athenaeus [116] tells us of a parasite of that name who seems to belong to this general period. His floruit can be approximately determined from the fact that Athenaeus [117] describes a meeting between him and the courtesan Metaneira. Since Metaneira flourished about 385 B. C. and later, the Democles referred to there was no doubt living when the Odysseus was produced in 372—366 B. C. It is probable, therefore, that he is to be indentified with the Democles mentioned in this play. Athenaeus [118] also tells of a parasite of that name who was at the court of Dionysius the Younger of Syracuse. It is barely possible that they are the same. He may have remained in Athens until about the time of the accession of Dionysius (367 B. C.), after that date going to Sicily, where he gained favor with the new ruler.

In the fragment quoted above the nickname κονιορτὸς is mentioned. There was at Athens in 367 B. C. a certain Euctemon, one of the hirelings of Midias, who had that nickname. [119] It is possible that the reference is to him. In that case the Odysseus was brought out in the latter part of the period designated above, 373 to 365 or 357, and Cephisodotus is the more probable restoration of the archon's name.

8. The *Agroikoi* or the *Anchises* was fourth at the City Dionysia in the archonship of Apollodorus, 349 B. C. [120] A few short fragments of both plays are preserved. [121]

9. διὰ Ἀνα]ξίππου. Wilhelm [122] notes that διὰ Διω]ξίππου is

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[116] XIII 584*f*.
[117] *Loc. cit.*
[118] VI 250.
[119] *Cf.* Kock *a. l.*
[120] Kock (II, p. 135) takes the view that the *Agroikoi* cannot have been brought out before the Second Olynthiac of Demosthenes was delivered (348 B. C.) because of the figurative use of the word ἀνακεχαίτικεν (frag. 3; *cf.* Dem. II 9), but this argument is, I think rightly, rejected by Wilhelm (*Urk.*, p. 202).
[121] Kock II, p. 135—137.
[122] *Urk.*, p. 202.

another possibility. It could also be the last part of the title of a play, although this is less likely.

The practice of bringing out a play through the agency of another is well known from the case of Aristophanes, who frequently made use of Callistratus and Philonides in this capacity, and also brought out his last two plays in the name of his son Araros. Eupolis brought out his *Autolykos* in the archonship of Aristion, 420 B.C., through Demostratus,[123] and the phrase Ἀρκάδας μιμούμενος, which Suidas applies to the comic poet Plato, seems to point to a similar practice in his case. In tragedy the same practice was followed at least in the fourth century; for it is stated that Aphareus, who exhibited tragedies from 368 to 341 B.C., won two City victories διὰ Διονυσίου and two at the Lenaea δι᾽ ἑτέρων.[124] Our inscription shows that the practice continued also in comedy at least down to the middle of the fourth century.

The reasons for exhibiting a play through the agency of another might be various. In the case of Aristophanes it was in the early part of his career the fact that he was himself too young and inexperienced, as he tells us *Vesp.* 1017 ff., *Equit.* 512 ff. and 541 ff., *Nub.* 528 ff. Later he did so probably because he did not wish to take the time necessary in each case to train the chorus. His last two plays, the *Kokalos* and *Aiolosikon,* he brought out through his son Araros in order to make him popular with his audiences.[125]

The questions which arise concerning the official positions of the poet and the didascalus and their relation to each other, especially the question as to who was credited with the victory, concern us only indirectly and are too long and detailed to be taken up here. The last mentioned point has been vigorously debated by scholars; it has been discussed recently by Wilhelm, *Urk.*, p. 111 f., who holds that

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[123] Athen. V 216*d*.

[124] [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 839*d*.

[125] Ar. *Plut. Arg.* IV.

the hypodidascalus was the victor, and from the opposite point of view by Capps, *Amer. Jour. Phil.* XXVIII (1907), pp. 187 ff.

10. π]οίωι is clearly the last part of the title of a play. The letters do not fit any of the known titles of Anaxandrides, but a *Grammateidiopoios* of Apollodorus, an *Ekpomatopoios* of Alexis, and a *Lyropoios* (or *Loutro-* or *Myropoios*) of Anaxilas are known. Various other compounds are also possible. The play was fourth at the Lenaea and was brought out before 367 B. C.

11. The fifths at the City Dionysia begin in this line. The first play to be awarded this lowest prize was brought out in 364 B. C. some 13—15 years after his first exhibition.

12. The *Pharmakomantis,* following the plausible restoration of Wilamowitz,[126] was brought out between 363 and 357 B. C. at the City Dionysia and was awarded fifth prize. Two fragments are preserved[127] but there is nothing in them that would help to determine more closely the date of production.

13. The play brought out in 352 B. C. was probably the last of his fifths at the City Dionysia.

14. The *Anteros* was fifth at the Lenaea. No conclusions can be drawn as to the date of its production. It is quoted only once, by Athenaeus[128] in the form Ἀντέρωντι. The stone, which records the form Ἀντέρωτι, shows that the correct form for the nominative is not *Anteron* but *Anteros*, as pointed out by Kaibel in his notes on this inscription in the Corpus.

15. EPHIPPUS. For the restoration of Ephippus' name here see p. 15. His name appears in the list of Lenaean victors in the sixth line of the third column, a position indicating

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[126] Koerte's restoration ἐν ἄσ]τει is unsatisfactory because, if adopted, line 11 would mark the beginning of the fourths at the City Dionysia and there would be no change of rank or festival between lines 3 and 11; but there is evidence to show that there should be changes in lines 4 and 5 (see pp. 28 ff. above).

[127] Kock II, p. 157, frag. 49—50.

[128] XIV 654*b*.

a date of about 368—365 B. C. for his first Lenaean victory. It is uncertain whether he won more than one victory at the Lenaea since the stone is broken at this point. Quite a number of fragments of twelve plays are preserved.[129]

16. IENAΣT copy. For discussion see p. 9.

17. IIET copy.

18. The suggestions in the last two lines are those of Capps. They are purely conjectural.

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[129] Kock II, pp. 250 ff.

5—4. Three victories) Λήναια δὲ ἐπὶ (*ca.* 441—0. Five

(20) (21)
. . . . .ἐπὶ. . . . .

(18) (19)
. . . . .ἐπὶ. . . . .

(14) (19)
. . . . τρίτος ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ . . . .

(21) (20)
. . . . σώιωι ἐπὶ . . . .

(17) (16)
ὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(17) (17)
τὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(17)
. . . . πέμπτος ἐπὶ . . . .

(10)
. . . . . δεύτερος μέν ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ . . . .

αὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέταρτα οὐκ ἦλθε πέμπτος Λήναια

(24)
ἐν Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . .

α οὐκ ἦλθε. . . . .

Plate A

I G XIV 1098*a*.

[Τηλεκλείδης ἐνίκα μὲν ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ (*ca.* 445—4. Three victories) Λήναια δὲ ἐπὶ (*ca.* 441—0. Five

(20) (21)
1 victories) . . . . — δεύτερος]ἐν ἄ[στει ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ. . . . .

(11) (18) (19)
2 . . . . Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . .]Εὐμε[νίσι ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ. . . . .

(19) (14) (19)
3 . . . . . ἐπὶ. . . . . ἐ]πὶ Εὐδ[. . . . . τρίτος ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ . . . .

(10) (21) (20)
4 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . κωμωιδί]αι Λήναια[ἐπὶ . . . . σώιωι ἐπὶ . . . .

(9) (17) (16)
5 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . Στ]έρρους ἀν[εδίδαξε ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(17) (17) (17)
6 . . . . . ἐπὶ. . . . .]τέταρτος [ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(8) (17)
7 . . . . Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . . Ἡσ]ιόδοις σώιω[ι ἐπὶ . . . . πέμπτος ἐπὶ . . . .

(17) (8) (ὁ δεῖνα) (10)
8 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . Στρατ]ιώταις [. . . . . δεύτερος μέν ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ . . . .

(22)
9 . . . . ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν νίκ]ην καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τ[ρίτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέταρτα οὐκ ἦλθε πέμπτος Λήναια

(20) (24)
10 ἐπὶ. . . . .] Ξενόφιλος [ἐνίκα μὲν Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . .

11 . . ἐπὶ δὲ τά δεύτερα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τ]ρίτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ [τέταρτα οὐκ ἦλθε. . . . .

Plate A

wo victories) — B̄ δὲ ἐπὶ — Λήναια — Γ̄ ἐν ἄστει

(17)

κλωψιν Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . .

(17)

[στει ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . .

) (8) (17)

έ[ους . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(18)

οις [ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . .

(431) (10)

Ιυ[θοδώρου . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(10) (20)

ου[. . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(ca 440) (17)

εν [ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ . . . . B̄

(16)

[ἐπὶ . . . . Λήναια ἐπὶ

(20)

σώι[ζονται ἐπὶ . . . .

(19)

ονύ[σωι Λήναια δὲ ἐπὶ . . . .

) (6) (17)

έλου[ς . . . . . . Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . .

(10) (19)

χου[. . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(8) (17)

ου[. . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

[ἐπὶ . . . .

σώι[ζονται Ἀριστομένης ἐνίκα μὲν

νύ[σωι . . . .

Plate B.

I G XIV 1097.

(446)
[Καλλίας ἐνίκα μὲν ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ Τιμαρχίδου (two victories) — Β̅ δὲ ἐπὶ — Λήναια — Γ̅ ἐν ἄστει
(19) (434) (17)
1 . . . . ἐπὶ. . . . . ἐ]πὶ Ἀντιοχίδου Κύ[κλωψιν Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . .
(17) (6) (17)
2 . ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . . .]ς κωμωδίαι Δ̅ ἐν ἄ[στει ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . .
(18) (9) (440) (8) (17)
3 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . κω]μωιδίαι ἐπὶ Τιμοκλέ[ους . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(17) (437) (18)
4 . . . ἐπὶ . . . . Λήναια ἐ]πὶ Θεοδώρου Σατύροις [ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . .
(18) (9) (431) (10)
5 . . . . ἐπὶ. . . . . Ὑπέ]ροις σιδεροῖς ἐπὶ Πυ[θοδώρου . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(19) (10) (434) (10) (20)
6 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . Βατράχ]οις Ε̅ ἐπὶ Ἀντιοχίδου[. . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(19) (ca 440) (17)
7 . . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . Λ]ύσιππος ἐνίκα μὲν [ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ . . . . Β̅
(16) (409) (16)
8 δὲ ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ Γλαυκίπ]που Καταχήναις [ἐπὶ . . . . Λήναια ἐπὶ
(16) (8) (20)
9 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . Βάκχ]αις αὗται μόναι σῴ[ζονται ἐπὶ . . . .
(394) (19)
10 . Ἀριστομένης ἐνίκα μέν ἐν ἄστει ἐ]πὶ Διοφάντου Διονύ[σωι Λήναια δὲ ἐπὶ . . . .
(19) (390) (6) (17)
11 . . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . Β̅ ἐν ἄσ]τει ἐπὶ Νικοτέλου[ς . . . . . . Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . .
(17) (435) (10) (19)
12 . . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . ἀνεδίδαξ]ε ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχου[. . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(19) (439) (8) (17)
13 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . Γ̅ ἐν ἄστε]ι ἐπὶ Μοριχίδου[. . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(17) (424)
14 ἐπι . . . . ἐπὶ Στρατοκλέο]υς Κολεοφόροις [ἐπὶ . . . .

(or)

9 . . . . Βάκχ]αις αὗται μόναι σῴ[ζονται Ἀριστομένης ἐνίκα μὲν
(20) (394)
10 ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ . . . . ἐ]πὶ Διοφάντου Διονύ[σωι . . . .

Plate B.

victories) — *Λήναια* (*ca.* 375—2. Three victories)
(19)
νωι ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . .
(20)
ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . .
(20)
ει ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ .
(17) (16)
. . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(7) (16)
. . . . ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . .
(20)
. . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(10) (19)
. . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(19)
κοις ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ
(18) (18)
. . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(11) (20)
. . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(12) (22)
. . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(12) (19)
. . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(8) (17)
. . . . . . Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . .
(17) (16)
. . . . ἐπὶ . . . .
(19)
. . . . B ἐπὶ . . . .
(18)
. . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Plate C.

I G XIV 1098

(376)
[Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐνίκα ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ Καλλίου (seven victories) — Λήναια (*ca.* 375—2. Three victories)

(364) (19)
1 B̄ ἐν ἄστει — Λήναια — . . . .]ἐπὶ Χίωνος Μαι[νομένωι ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . .

(19) (10) (20)
2 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .]ς Διονύσου γοναῖ[ς ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . .

(20) (10) (20)
3 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .]Ἀμπρακιώτιδι Γ̄ ἐν [ἄστει ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ .

(21) (368) (17) (16)
4 . . . . ἐπὶ Λυσισ]τράτου Ἐρεχθεῖ ἐ[πὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(8) (375) (7) (16)
5 . . . . . . Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . . Ἡρακ]λεῖ ἐπὶ Χαρισάνδρο[υ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . .

(16) (374) (20)
6 . . . . Δ ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ Ἱπ]ποδάμαντος Ἰοῖ ἐ[πὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(20) (10) (357) (10) (19)
7 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .]Ὀδυσσεῖ ἐπὶ Κηφισοδ[ότου . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(19) (349) (19)
8 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .]ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀγ[ροίκοις ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ

(20) (18) (18)
9 . . . . διὰ Ἀνα]ξίππου Λήναια ἐπ[ὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(14) (367) (11) (20)
10 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . π]οίωι ἐπί Ναυσιγένου[ς . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(20) (364) (12) (22)
11 . . . ἐπὶ . . . . Ē]ἐν ἄστει ἐπὶ Χίωνος[. . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(10) (356) (12) (19)
12 . . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . Φαρμακομάν]τει ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλ[έους . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(21) (352) (8) (17)
13 . . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .]ἐπὶ Θουδήμου Ἀ[. . . . . Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . .

(17) (6) (17) (16)
14 . ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . . .]ου Ἀντέρωτι ἐ[πὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(16) (19)
15 . . . . . ἐπὶ . . . . Ἐφίππος ἐ]νίκα Λήναι[α ἐπὶ . . . . B̄ ἐπὶ . . . .

(18) (19) (18)
16 . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .]Γ̄ ἐν ἄστ[ει ἐπὶ . . . . ἐπὶ . . . .

(18) (18)
17 . . . . Λήναια ἐπὶ . . . .]ι ἐπ[ὶ . . . .

18 . . . . . . ἐπὶ]Ἀρ[ιστοδήμου . . . . . .

Plate C.

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